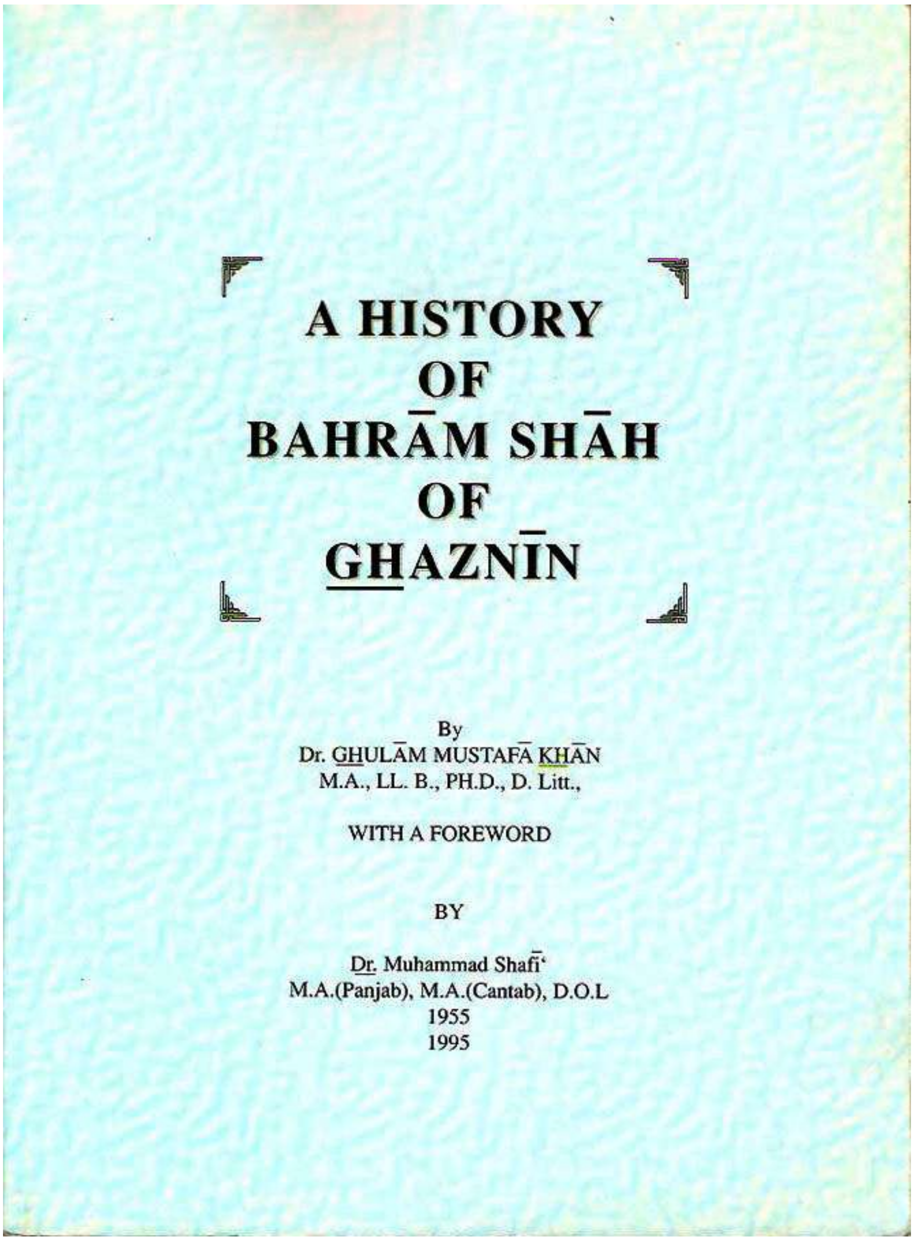


A HISTORY OF BAHRĀM SHĀH OF GHAZNĪN

By
Dr. GHULĀM MUSTAFĀ KHĀN
M.A., LL. B., PH.D., D. Litt.,

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

Dr. Muhammad Shafī'
M.A.(Panjab), M.A.(Cantab), D.O.L
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PREFACE

In these pages I have tried to write a history of Sultān Bahrām Shāh, the great-great-grandson of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn on the basis of surviving historical records and the references found in the work of his court-poet, Sayyid Ḥasan, and of other contemporary poets and men of letters. I have made efforts to consult all books and manuscripts available on the period and have, off and on, consulted almost all the important libraries of India and Pakistan. I am particularly obliged to Principal Muḥammad Shafī', the highly esteemed scholar of international fame, who very kindly made valuable suggestions and went through the script thoroughly.

From the ff. 17b-18b of the British Museum MS. Or. 1869, we learn that Sir Henry Elliot had asked Nawwāb Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn "Nayyir-i-Rakhshān,"* a pupil of the famous poet Ghālib of Delhi, to collect historical references from the works of the poets, Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān (d. 515/1121) and Sayyid Ḥasan (d. 556/1161), but unfortunately the Nawwāb could not comply with his request. Hence, it is really a matter of joy that the lengthy but dark period of Bahrām Shāh now sees the light of the day.

The present book, though now in an improved form, has already been published in the issues of the "Islamic Culture," Ḥyderabad (Deccan) in 1949, and it is only through the philanthropic efforts of my brotherly friend Professor 'Abdu'l-Hamīd, M.A., (Proprietor of the Caravan Book House, Anarkali, Lahore) that this work now receives the shape of a book.

GHULAM MUSTAFA KHAN

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* He wrote these notices on the 12th March, 1861. See the catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum, Vol. III, p. 979. It is surprising to see the marginal note in English on f. 18b. most probably by Elliot himself, saying that he had asked the Nawwāb to collect those references from the work of Sayyid Ḥasan only and not from that of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān.

FOREWORD

By

Principal MUHAMMAD SHAFI, M.A. (Panjab), M.A. (Cantab)., D.O.L.,
Chairman Editorial Board, the Urdu Encyclopaedia
of Islam, University of the Panjab, Lahore.

I have known Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan for a long time as a distinguished writer of several valuable articles and dissertations on literary subjects which were published in a number of the learned journals of India and Pakistan. He has also contributed several articles to the Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam, which is to be published by the University of the Panjab.

His latest work on the history of Sultan Bahram Shah of Ghaznin is an elaborate attempt to present a systematic and authentic account of the life and times of a ruler who was as daring in his spirit as unfortunate in his circumstances. Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan has taken pains to consult almost all the surviving historical records and collect the numerous scattered references to his reign in the works, —printed and manuscript—of the contemporary men of letters, particularly the dīwān of Sayyid Hasan of Ghazna, the court-poet of Bahram Shah, which he had to examine very closely. Coming as it does after the doctoral thesis of Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan on Sayyid Hasan of Ghaznin, which has already attracted much attention and appreciation, this book throws further light on the conditions obtaining during the period of Bahram Shah, and serves to emphasise the peculiar literary and cultural attitudes of the later Ghaznavids. This book, therefore, is a valuable addition to our knowledge on a subject which is of equal interest both to the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan, since it treats of a period of history when the fates of both of these nations were closely interrelated.

Lahore,
June 10, 1955. MUHAMMAD SHAFI

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* This Qaswara was a contemporary of Hujwairi (Kashful-Mahjūb, p. 218, Leningrad 1344) and grandfather of Shāh Yūsuf Gardīzī (Akhbāru'l-Akhyār, p. 60) Delhi 1309). *See* Principal M. Shafī's note on p. 30 of Damima, Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, Feb.-May, 1953.

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I

Bahram Shah's Parentage

Bahrām Shah, the great-great-grandson of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, ruled for about forty-two years, but he belonged to an age which is not completely or systematically traced in any history or biography and it is a pity that even his parentage demands a query. We, therefore try to put together all that is available from the various sources and write a history of that king accordingly.

(a) Bahram Shah's Father.

Following the author of the Ṭabaqat-i-Nāsirī[1], Mr. 'Abbas Parvīz,[2] a modern historian of Persia, says that Bahrām Shāh was the uncle of Malik Arslān and the son of Mas'ūd III (d. Shawwal,[3] 508/Feb., 1115). But this statement is only partially correct. Malik Arslan was the son of Mas'ūd III, as we find in a verse of a contemporary poet 'Uthman-i-Mukhtarī (d. A.D. 1149 or 1159)[4]:—

ابو الملوک ملک ارسلان بن مسعود   طراز ملک جهان پادشاه ملک طراز[5]

And just as Malik Arslan was the son of Mas'ūd III, similarly Bahrām Shāh too was a son, and not a brother of Mas'ūd; several contemporary poets bear witness to this fact. Thus

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1. Bankipore MS., F. 123a or Calcutta Ed., 1864, p. 22.

2. The History "Az Ṭāhiriyān tā Mughūl", Vol. I, p. 509. For the detailed history of Malik Arslān, see my essay in the "Ma'ārif", dated Nov.-Dec., 1941.

3. Ibn-Athīr, Cairo Ed., Vol. X, p. 177; Jannātu'l- Firdaus", Bankipore MS., f. 64a, etc.

4. In the India Office Catalogue of Persian MSS., p. 638, Dr. Ethe gives the date of his death as 544 or 554/1149 or 1159. But this date would be wrong, if according to the writer of the "Su bh-i-Sādiq" (Vol. III, f. 1022a, Bankipore) we believe that the poet's following verse was in praise of Khusrau Malik, the grandson of Bahrām Shāh, who ruled from 559/1163 (and not Khusrau Malik, the son of Malik Arslān):—

ابو الملوک خداوند خسروان زمین   جمال مملکت خسرو ملک پناه سپاه

Dr. Rizāzāda Shafaq, in his literary history (p. 102), ascribes one doublet "Shahryār Nāma" to this poet.

5. His dīwān, Bankipore, f. 7b.

the poet Mu'izzī (d. 542/1147) says:—

شاه بهرام شاه بن مسعود   خواجه مسعود سعد را بنواخت[1]

Sanā'ī (d.[2] 545/1150) also records:—

شاه بهرام شاه بن مسعود   که بنازد به عدل او محمود[3]

And thus Sayyid Ḥasan, the court-poet of Bahrām Shāh, recalls in one of his many such verses:—

شاه بهرام شاه بن مسعود   که سزد چرخ صفهٔ بارش[4]

Hence it is now clear that Bahram Shāh was not the uncle, but the brother, of Malik Arslan and thus the son of Mas'ūd III.

(*b*) **Bahram Shah's Mother.**

About Bahrām's mother we have to examine a great deal of evidence before we can come to any conclusion. Almost all the historians say that Mahd-i-'Irāq ("cradle of Iraq"), sister of Sultān Sanjar (d. 552/1157), was the mother of Bahrām Shāh[5]. But Mr. 'Abbās Parvīz[6] again misleads us by saying that she was the daughter of Sanjar. This cannot be correct, because, according to the Rāḥatu's-Sudūr[7]—a history considered to be very important for the Saljūq period—Sanjar was born in 479/1086. (Cf. Bundārī, Cairo ed., 1318 p. 234, who gives Friday, Rajab 25, A. H. 471/February 1st A.D. 1079, as the date of his birth). So, even if we take Bundārī to be more authentic and thus fix Sanjar's birth in 471/1079, and that we may further suppose that Sanjar, like

1. Dīwān of Mas'-ūd-i-Sa'd, Tehrān Ed., 1318, p. 732. A good copy of Mu'izzī's diwan is found in the Asafia, (Deccan). For his dates and those of his father Bu'rhānī, see my essay in the Ma'ārif, Aug. 1942.

2. A good discussion about his death by Dr. Ethe is to be found in the Bodlien Library Catalogue p. 463. See also Maulānā S. Sulaimān Nadvi's essay in the "Ma'ārif", March, 1933, and also my new data in that journal, dated September, 1942.

3. Ḥadīqa, Lucknow Ed., p. 625.

4. India Office MS., No. 931, f. 146b.

5. *e.g.*, Rauḍatu'ṣ-Safā, Lucknow Ed., 1874, Vol IV, p. 799.

6. See his history, Vol. I, p. 509.

7. See its f. 77a or J.R.A.S., dated July and October, 1902. Also Majālisu'l-'Ushshāq, Lucknow, 1897 p. 232.

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his grand-father Alp-Arslan[1], was married at the age of thirteen, i.e. in 484/1092, and supposing that "Mahd-i-'Iraq" was the eldest daughter born to him, the date of her birth would then be not earlier than 485/1093. But this could not be correct, because Firishta[2] tells us that when Bahram's grandfather Ibrahim (d. 492/1099) had no fear and felt secure from any attack by Sanjar's father Malik Shah (d. 486/1093), because of his son Mas'ud III's marriage with Mahd-i-'Iraq, he diverted his attention towards India and personally conquered the fort of Ajodhan (modern Pak Pattan) in 472/1079-80. Ibnu'l-Athir[3] gives the date of this conquest as the 20th Safar, A.H. 476 (Sunday, the 9th July, 1083). Anyway, it is not possible that Sanjar's daughter could have been married befor these dates, because sanjar himself was born in 471/1079, even if we accept the date assigned to his birth by Bundari, who puts it earlier.

Now we have to judge (*a*) whether "Mahd-i- 'Iraq" was the mother of Bahram Shah, as the writer of the Tabaqat i Nasiri says and (*b*) whether she was the daughter of Malik Shah, as several other historians record. Fortunately we find a valuable treatise "Adabu'l-Harb" by Fakhru'd-Din Mubarak Shah (d. 607-633[4]/1201-1235), who gives detailed accounts of this marriage. He says that when Malik Shah gathered together a large host from Khwarazm, Khurasan and 'Iraq with a view to marching against Ghaznin, Sultan Ibrahim sent Mihtar Rashid (better styled as Abu'r-Rushd Rashid) as an envoy to him. The envoy stayed on at the court of Malik Shah, till he succeeded in cementing the political relations of the two kings by arranging the marriage of Mas'ud III with the daughter of Chaghri Beg Abu Sulaiman Dawud[5] b. Mika'il b. Saljuq; *i.e.*, with the cousin of Malik Shah's father Alp Araslan. The actual words of the

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1. Sanjar's father Malik Shah was born in 445/1053, when his father Alp Arslan was of fourteen years only. For these dates see J.R.A.S., July, 1902, pp. 594 and 597.

2. Lucknow Ed., Vol. I, p. 48.

3. Vol. X. p. 46.

4. "*Islamic Culture*", Hyderabad, April, 1938, p. 192. The detailed accounts that led to this marriage are found on ff. 60a-65a, British Museum MS., or its reprint by the Oriental College, Lahore, May, 1938; pp. 18-27.

5. For his full name, see J.R.A.S., July, 1902, p. 588.

Ādābu'l-Ḥarb, on f. 64a, are as follows :—

(ملک شاه، مهتر رشید را) گفت : "من دختر نه دارم۔ اما عمتی هست مرا به عراق، دختر چغر بیگ داؤد۔ نام زد کردم۔ کس بفرست تابیارند و بدان حضرت برند۔" و برفور بفرمود تا به عراق نامه نوشتند که عمت خویش را با امیر علاء الدوله مسعود به زنی دادم۔ زود تر برگ او بسازند که کسان می آیند تا هرچه زود تر گسیل کنند۔ وآن دختر مادر سلطان ملک ارسلان بود۔

"We have (now) no daughter (for marriage), but have an aunt in 'Iraq (hence, probably called "Mahd-i-'Iraq" or "the Cradle of 'Iraq"), daughter of Chaghar Beg (Abū Sulaimān) Dāwūd, whom we betroth (to Mas'ūd III). You should send some one to fetch her, so that she may be brought and taken to that court." A letter was immediately written under his orders to 'Irāq to the effect that he had given his aunt in marriage to the Amīr 'Alaū'd-Dawla Mas'ūd III and that the necessary arrangements for her departure were to be made at once and she was to be sent with the men who were coming to fetch her. That lady eventually became the mother of Malik Arslān (the brother of Bahrām Shāh). The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān (d. 515/1121) also refers to this relation in the following lines :—

(از زبان ملک ارسلان گوید :—)

من مایهٔ عدل و مایهٔ جودم   سلطان ملک ارسلان مسعودم
محمود خصالم و رسم و راه رانم   زیرا شرف نژاد محمودم
با قوت و قدرت سلیما نم   زیرا از اصل و نسل داؤدم

In these verses[1] the poet traces the descent of Malik Arslān (the son of Mas'ūd III) from (*a*) Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn and (*b*) Chaghar Beg Abū Sulaimān Dāwūd[2] (d. 450/1058). There is one more verse of this poet to the same effect:—

توئی ز گوهر محمود و گوهر داؤد   کدام شاه نسب دارد از چنین دو نژاد[3]

1. His diwān ; Tehrān, 1318 ; p. 611.

2. In the Rauḍatu's-Ṣafā, Lucknow, 1915, Vol. IV, p. 124, the date of his son Qāwu'rd's enthronement is given as 450/1058 ; *i.e.*, he died in that year. In the Akhbāru'd-Dawlatis-Saljuqiyya, Lahore, 1933, p. 29, the date of his death is Safar 452/March, 1060. Miss Iqbāl Shafī' rightly remarks, in the Islamic Culture, April, 1938, p. 196, that the daughter must have been older than Mas'ūd III, because he was born in 453/1061.

3. The diwan of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd, p. 113.

Again in this verse the poet mentions his patron Malik Arslān to have descended from (*a*) Maḥmūd and (*b*) Dawūd, while in a tarjīʿ-band he traces Bahrām Shāh's descent from Maḥmūd (Yamīnu'd-Dawla) only:—

گویند هفت کشور زیرنگین کند   شاهے ز اصل و نسل یمینی و این توفی[1]

Hence it is now clear that (*a*) Malik Arslān was the son of the (Turkish) Saljukide princess "Mahd-i-ʿIrāq", as his name (meaning 'a lion' in Turkish) also denotes, and that (*b*) Bahrām Shāh was not born of that lady, as the above verse makes no such mention and the following passage of the Ādābul-Harb also clarifies :—

"..........اما سلطان (سنجر) می اندیشید که اگر او (بهرام شاه) را یاری دید و سلطان ملک ارسلان را از تخت ملک برکند مرد مان زبان دراز کنند و گویند که بیگانه را معونت فرمود و خویش و نزدیک را از مملکت دور کرد.........."[2]

Thereafter nothing is known about Malik Ārslān's mother, while the poet Sayyid Hasan wrote the following verses on the death of Bahrām's real mother, which seems to have occurred towards the beginning of his reign :—

آراستند روضهٔ آرام گاه جان   یک سر گشاده شد همه در هاے آسمان

صبح عدم کشید سر از ظلمت وجود   نور یقین نمود رخ از پردهٔ گمان

* * * * * *

بگشاد بر تحیت کروبیان دهن   بر بست در کرامت روحانیان میان

رضوان ره بهشت نموده که مرحبا   مهمان نو رسیده منم تازه میزبان

پیش آمده به خدمت کد بانوان خلد   در پرسش درود همه گشته یک زبان

* * * * * *

کا یزد نهاد مریم اسلام را محل   نزدیک شد ز سدرهٔ ایام را مکان

* * * * * *

سلطان ابوالمظفر بهرام شه که ساخت   عالی همائے همتش از سدره آشیان

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1. *Ibid*, p. 560.

2. Ādābu'l-Ḥarb, p. 32. Also see its page 24. Had Mahd-i-ʿIrāq been Arslān's step-mother, he would not have dared to send her to Sanjar to win him over against her own son Bahrām (as history says) or to request Sanjar's real brother Muḥammad to persuade him not to attack Ghaznin in favour of Bahrām.

منت خداے را که ملک خلقی و ملک   مژده زمانه را که جوان بختی و جوان

بر خاطر مکرم غم بعد ازین منه   وز نرگس مبارک نم بیش ازین مران

آن را که چون تو قرهٔ عین است یاد گر   حقا که چون خضر بودش عمر جاودان

تا دوست برنیامد و دشمن فرونه شد   در دولت از لقاے توسی بود شادمان

چون هر دو را به کام دل خویشتن بدید   دادش به حق امانت و برخاست از میان[1]

II

Bahram's Birth

We should now try to find out the probable date of Bahrām's birth. From the Ādābu'l-Ḥarb,[1] Haft-Iqlīm,[2] etc., we know that Malik Arslān was the elder brother of Bahrām So, if we find out the date of Arslān's birth, we can at least say that Bahrām was born thereafter. Ibnu'l-Athīr[3] and Abu'l Fidā[4] say that Arslān was murdered in Jumadā II, 512/September, 1118 A.D. at the age of *twenty seven*; i.e., he was born in 485/1092. But the writer of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī[5] says that he died in 511/1117, at the age of *thirty-five*; i.e. according to him Arslān was born in 476/1083. Now we have to judge which one of these dates is correct, and for this purpose we have to know first the date of Mas'ūd III's marriage with Mahd-i-'Irāq. From a panegyric of the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd, we may quote here a few important lines on the subject:—

ای تاخته از غزنین تا گه زده برسقسین   چونان که به میداندر بر کبک زند شاهین

سلطان جهانگیری مسعود ملک شاهی   کت قدر فلک رتبت بگذشت ز علیین

نو روز بدیع . آمد با فتح و ظفر همره   بنگر که چه خوب آمد با دے به فروردین[6]

From these verses it is clear that when Mas'ūd III invaded Saqsīn[7] in the month of "Dai" (Dec.-Jan.), he had

1. Adābu'l-Ḥarb, p. 32.
2. Asafia Library MS., Hyderabad, f. 112b.
3. Cairo Ed., Vol. X, p. 179.
4. Cairo Ed., Vol. II, p. 239.
5. Calcutta Ed., p. 23
6. The poet's diwan, p. 436.
7. There is a difference of opinion about the locality of Saqsīn. In تقویم البلدان it is said to be a city of the Asiatic Turkestan. In حدود العالم we find a note on p. 453, which shows that it is the same as *Itil*, situated near Astarkhān on the lower-bed of the Volga (or دریاے اتل). From Nu'zhatul-Qulūb (pp. 10, 239, 259) and from Yāqūt's Mu'jamu'l-Bu'ldān, Vol. IV, p. 670, we understand that it was somewhere on the east of the Caspian Sea. In D'Obson's map it is shown on the Volga on the latitude 53°N. In the Spinner-Menke Atlas (map No. 67) it is on the bank of the river Aral on 67°E. longitude and 53°N. latitude; i.e., near the modern Orenberg. I am obliged to Principal Muhammad Shafi' for kindly giving me this information.

already been married to Mahd-i-'Iraq. The poet mentioned him as one related to Malik Shah and not to Chaghar Beg Abū Sulaimān Dāwūd, who was his real father-in-law probably because (*a*) Malik Shāh[1] was more famous than him and that (*b*) the latter had already died by then. Unfortunately, history does not tell us when Mas'ūd III invaded Saqsīn, otherwise we could very easily know that the marriage had already taken place before that invasion. Anyway, we should now seek the help of history in a different manner.

We have already learnt from Firishta (p. 48) that Ibrāhīm diverted his attention towards India and conquered the fort of Ajodhan (Pāk-Pattan) in 472/1079-80, after he had felt secure from the danger of the Saljūq attacks because of his son Mas'ūd III's marriage with Mahd-i-'Iraq. This means that the marriage had been performed sometime not later than 471/1078. But this date must be wrong because of the following reasons:—

(*a*) From the 'Rāḥatu'ṣ-Ṣudūr'[2] we understand that Malik Shāh was busy that year, capturing Samarqand etc.; and the Adābu'l-Ḥarb records that Ibrāhīm's envoy Rashīd had taken several[3] months for discussions etc., before he was able to fix that marriage. Hence it is clear that Malik Shāh, who was then busy with wars in distant places like Samarqand etc., could in that year, get no peaceful time for months together to hold those discussions.

(*b*) Nizāmī 'Arūḍī writes in the Chahar Maqala (Discourse II, story 6) that when the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd was first imprisoned[4] in 472/1079-80, he sent the following

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1. The poet Mas'ud-i-Sa'd (p. 695) has also got a quatrain to the same effect :—

بو رشد رشید کز فلک ماه آورد   جان اعدا ز گاه در چاه آورد
آورد براے هر کسے راه آورد   از بهر ملک ملک شاه آورد

2. J.R.A.S., July 1902, p. 597.

3. For these details see the Ādābu'l-Harb, pp. 18-27.

4. Nizāmī 'Arūḍī mentions the fortress "Nai" where the poet was then first imprisoned, but it was his third prison as he himself says in his dīwān (p. 526):—

هفت سالم بسود سو و دهک   پس از آنم سه سال قلعهٔ نایے

Mīrzā Qazwīnī, in his note on this poet (Tr. Browne, pp. 41-43), says that this imprisonment was after 480/1087-8 and a little before 492/1098-99. See also Rashīd Yāsimī's preface to this poet's dīwān.

quatrain to Ibrahīm :—

در بند تو اے شاہ ملک شہ باید　　تابند تو پاے تاج دارے ساید
آن کس که زپشت سعد سلمان آید　　گر زهر شود ملک ترا نگزاید

In this quatrain the poet refers to Malik Shāh as one who deserves to be imprisoned (because of enmity), while he pleads his own innocence at the court. This means that by that year (if that date be correct) there was no such matrimonial alliance between the two courts. Hence we shall have to agree with Ibnu'l-Athīr who gives the date of the *subsequent* capture of Ajodhan as the 20th Ṣafar, 476/Sunday, the 9th July, 1083.

Now, in order to ascertain the exact date of that marriage, we shall have to refer to other accounts as well. From Ibn-Khaldūn we know that Malik Shāh gave one of his daughters in marriage to the Caliph al-Mu'qtadī (d. 487/1094) in the year[1] 474/1081-82. This eventually means that it was only after this year that Malik Shāh had to say to Rashīd, the envoy of Ibrāhīm, "We have no daughter[2] (now to marry with Mas'ūd III)". Hence it is now quite clear that the marriage of Mahd-i-'Irāq with Mas'ūd III was performed *after* 474/1081-82 and *before* 476/1083 (when that subsequent capture of Ajodhan was effected); *i.e.*, in 475/1082-83.

We can now find out the time of the year of the marriage, if we just select here some verses of the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd in praise of Rashīd, the envoy of Ibrāhīm :—

آلت رامش بخواه، گوهر شادی بیار　　رعد مثال آن بزن، ابر نهاد این بیار
شهر ز دیبائے روم نغزتر از بوستان　　راه زخوبان شهر خوب تر از قندهار
روئے چو دوزخ زمین گشت زسبزه، بهشت　　نفس گرفته جهان، شد به زستان بهار
نزیبی شادی همی هیچ دلے را ملال　　نزیبی مستی همی هیچ سرے را خمار
دانی امسال چیست سورست ازان شاد شد　　ساخته سازش همی گردون بر آرد بار
عمدهٔ پاینده ملک، خاصهٔ خسرو رشید　　آمد باز از عراق شاد دل و شاد خوار

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1. Ibn-Khaldūn (Tr. Ahmad Husain) Vol. XIV, p. 13. The daughter was sent to the Caliph in 480/1087 (Rauḍatu'ṣ-Safā, 1915, Vol. IV, p. 101).

2. Ādābu'l-Ḥarb, p. 24.

دیده ز چرخ کمال مهرے بس نورمند   یافته از بحر ملک درے بس شاهوار
داد به شهزادهٔ زادهٔ شاهی چنو   در هنر مملکت دیده نه شد روزگار
آن پسر تاج دار تا که برافراخت تاج   هر دم بوسد زمین پیشش هر تاج دار
تاتو بفرخنده فال رفتی از پیش شاه   نه داد حضرت فروغ، نه داد شاهی قرار
پنجهٔ سرو و چنار لرزان بود از دعا   دیدهٔ نرگس به باغ زرد شد از انتظار
بوم خراسان نه دید بر کف تو جام زر   شرم زد و می برست لاله از لاله زار
ای زهمه مفخرت عرض تو بسته حلی   وی ز همه مکرمت نفس تو کرده شعار
دائم پوشیده نیست بر دل بیدار تو   که من چه بینم همی در فزع کوهسار
چون‌بوم خسپم زوهم در شکم این‌مضیق   چون‌زاغ خیزم ز ترس بر سر این کوهسار[1]

The following points are to be noted in the above verses:—

(*a*) The last two verses clearly show that this panegyric was written by the poet when he was in a prison of a fort (Sau?) situated on some hill.

(*b*) The verses 6-8 clarify the point that the envoy Rashīd succeeded in getting for a 'prince' (Mas'ūd) the hand of a 'princess' (Mahd-i-'Irāq) from Iraq.

(*c*) We have already proved that the marriage was performed in 475/1082-83. Now from the third and fifth verses we understand that it was held, beyond any doubt, in winter (Sha'bān—Shawwāl, A.H. 475=21st Dec. A.D. 1082—20th March A.D. 1083). This ultimately means that the writer of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī is correct in saying that Arslān was born (of the union) in 476/1083. This further shows that Bahrām, who was younger than Arslān (although of a different mother) must have been born not earlier than 477/1084.

1. Diwan, pp. 209 212. From 'Ibnu'l-Athīr' (Vol. X, p. 57) we know that Nizāmul'-Mu'lk spent 100,000 gold coins for this marriage from his own pocket.

III

Bahram's Claim To The Throne

On the death of Mas'ūd III in Shawwāl[1] A.H. 508/March, A.D. 1115, his son Sherzād, according to his will[2], ascended the throne of Ghaznīn. But with his accession the fratricidal wars broke out and he had to repair to Ṭabaristān to the court of the Ispahbad 'Ala'u'd-Daula 'Alī b. Shahryār b. Qārin (of the House of Bāwand) who fulfilled his desire to arrange for his pilgrimage to Mecca. After his return Sherzād was enabled to proceed once more to Ghaznīn[3], but he was soon after killed by his brother Arslān. His other brothers were also either killed or arrested, except Bahrām, who happened to be at Tikīnābād of Garmsir, from before the death of their father there[4].

Malik Arslān, better styled as[5] "As-Su'lṭānu'l-A'zam, Su'lṭānu'd-Dawlat (Abu'l-Mulūk) Malık Arslān b. Mas'ūd", ascended the throne of Ghaznīn on Wednesday, the 6th of Shawwal, A.H. 509=(22nd February, 1116), as we find out from the following panegyric, written in his praise by Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān :—

به عون ایزد شش روز رفته از شوال — برآمد از فلک دولت آفتاب کمال
گذشته پانصد و نه سال تازی از هجرت — زهے مبارك ماه و زهے مبارك سال
جہان به عدل بیاراست آن بزرگ ملک — که دین و دولت ازو یافته‌ست فر و جمال
ابو الملوك ملک ارسلان بن مسعود — که بحر کوه وقاراست و کوه بحر نوال
ز هفت چرخ فلک او بیافت هفت اقلیم — که یافت ملک ز تائید ایزد متعال
چه روز بود که پیش از زوال چشمهٔ مهر — مخالفان را شد عمر و جان و جاه زوال
چهارشنبه بود و چهار گوشهٔ تخت — گرفت نصرت و تائید و دولت و اقبال[6]

1. Mujmal-i-Faṣiḥı, Bankipore, f. 160a; Ibnu'l-Athīr, Vol. X, p. 177, etc.
2. Muḥammad Baqā's 'Mirātul-'Ālam', Bankipore, f. 109a; Tarīkh-i-Guzīda, Habībganj, etc.
3. Ibn Isfandiyar's History of Tabaristan (Tr. Browne), pp. 58-59.
4. Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, Raverty, p. 148. Tikīnābād is a large city of Garmsir (or the hot country), so called after the heat of its climate.
5. Such are the inscriptions of his coins (See Elliot's History, Vol. II, p. 483).
6. His Diwan; pp. 317-318.

But as Bahrām was then at Tikīnābād, he appears to have resisted there the forces of Malik Arslan ; but then, on being defeated, he fled away. This we can understand from the following verses of the same poet:—

ز شاه بیم دلهاے اهل حضرت شاد   هزار رحمت برشاه و اهل حضرت باد
من این نشاط که دیدم ز خلق در غزنین   بدید خوا هم تا روز چند در بغداد
سپه کشیده و آراسته بداد جهان   بدست حشمت برکنده دیدهٔ بیداد
ابوالملوك ملک ارسلان بن مسعود   خدایگان جهان دار شاه شاه نژاد
به کام گاری بردیده؛ زمانه نشست   قدم ز رتبت بر تارك سپهر نهاد
چه روز بود که در بوتهٔ سیاست او   عیار ملک بیالود خنجر پولاد
چهار شنبه روزے که از چهارم چرخ   سعود ریخت همی سپهر برتکین آباد
زمین تو گوئی مرخصم ملک را بگرفت   بدان ٭زمان که برآمد زطاغیان فریاد
گہے عزیمت کرد و گہے هزیمت شد   چنان که باشد در پیش باز گرسنه خاد
چه منفعت ز عزیمت که آن نه بود قوی   چه فائده زهزیمت که آن نه یافت نهاد
خدایگان زمانه مظفر و منصور   به زر فشاندن بر خلق دستها بگشاد
بسوے حضرت راند و براند حظ نشاط   چنان که زلزله در کوهسار و بحر فتاد
جز آن نه گویم شاها که رودکی گوید   ''خداے چشم بد از ملک تو بگرداناد''[1]

These lines refer to Malik Arslān's enthronement and subsequent flight of Bahrām (7-12) from Tikīnābād. The seventh verse particularly refers to the former's predominance and ascendency, because the deliberate use of سپهر and چرخ چهارم relating to برج اسد, explicates the literal meaning of Arslān=(اسد or lion). The same poet writes another panegyric for the occasion :—

سزد که باشی شاها زملک خرم و شاد   که ملک تو در شادی و خرمی بگشاد
خداے دادت ملک و خداے عزوجل   نگاه دارد ملک تو همچنان که بداد
خداے بود معین ساعت گرفتن تو   ترا نباید حاجت به خنجر پولاد
سپاه بے حد بود و سلاح بے مر بود   ولیک قاعدهٔ ملک تو خدائے نهاد
چو ابر نصرت باربد چرخ فصل خزان   بهار گشت ز ملک تو درتکین آباد
ز تیغ تیز تو فریاد کرد دشمن تو   ولیک آن بجاسودے نه داشت آن فریاد
زهر سوئے سپہے بس گران فرستادی   که خسروی به تو تازه است و مملکت به تو شاد

1. *Ibid*, pp. 127-128.

تو داد گیتی دادی و لشکر تو کنون   جهان بگیرد کاندر نبرد بدهد داد
رسد زهر سپهی هر دو هفتهٔ فتحی   که تهنیت کند آن را خلیفهٔ بغداد
مرا به مدحی شاها ولایتی دادی   کدام شاهی هرگز به مادحی این داد[1]

In these lines the following points are to be noted :—

(a) The last verse most probably refers to the poet's release from the fort of Maranj, his last prison, because for him there could be no greater 'kingdom' than this. Thus the date of his release could be 509/1116, when Arslān ascended the throne.

(b) From the verses 3-6, it is again clear that Malik Arslān attacked Tikīnābād, whence Bahram, as has already been clarified, fled away.

(c) It appears from the 7th, 8th and 9th verses that Malik Arslān sent his forces to different places of the country to establish his supremacy. This point is further clarified from the following verses of the poet 'Uthmān Mu'khtārī, who refers to Ray[2] where the new Su'ltān went for the same purpose :—

بهمنجنه است، خیز! می آرای چراغ ری   تا بر چنیم گوهر شادی زگنج می
در خدمت رکاب خداوند شرق و غرب   ذکری دگر کنیم و جهانی کنیم می
بنگر که تا دو مه به چه عدت بود سپاه   سلطان ابوالملوک ملک ارسلان به ری
شاهی که در غنیمت هندوستان مدام   رایان رسند بخش غلامان او زنی
شاهی که پیش افسر چون آفتاب او   تخت ملوک بوسه دهد خاک را چو فی

1. *Ibid*, pp. 111-112. This panegyric appears to have been written in the month of Muḥarram (510/May, 1115), as thefollowing verse shows:—
به دور ماه زسر تازه گشت سال عرب   خدای بر تو و بر ملک تو خجسته کناد

2. From the Rauḍatus-Safā (1915, Vol. p. 100), we understand that during the reign of Mas'ūd I (d.432/1040), the Saljūqs had captured all (non-Indian) possessions of the Ghaznavid and then Maudūd (d. 440/1048) ruled only over Afghānistān and India. In the Tā'rīkh-i-Baihaqi (p. 71) it is stated that in 428/1036-37, the Ghaznavid kingdom was cut off from Khurāsān and 'Irāq, and was limited to Ghaznīn only, while the Saljūq sovereignty was recognised even upto Samarqand at least, where, as we know also from Hakīm's Tā'rīkh-i-Māwarāu'n-Nahr (Bombay 1310, p. 17), Sanjar went twice (in 524/1130 and 535/1140-41) to crush rebellions. At any rate, the poet's contemporary evidence regarding Arslān's recognition in Ray needs no further corroboration to the fact that his sway extended upto that place as well.

روز جلوس شاه به گردون ندا رسد　　کاے چرخ حق شاه به حرمت گذار ے
هر تاجور که جزبه مراد تو دم زند　　باتیغ تو برو نه کند عقل حکم ے
شکر تو در دهان جهان باد چون شکر　　اقبال پیش تخت تو بسته میان چو ے
ے خوردنت موافق و شافی و طبع ساز　　بهمنجنه ات مبارک و مسعودو نیک ے[1]

These verses show that at Ray he was recognised as king on the festival of بهمنجنه i.e., on the 2nd of the Persian month Bahman (=February, A.D. 1116 or Shawwal, A.H. 509) when he had ascended the throne of Ghaznīn.

We have already seen above that Bahrām was at Tikīn-ābad when his father expired. But he had to flee away to Sīstan, accompanied, as Muḥammad-i-'Awfī, says[2], by one attendant, and they took the precaution of having their horses shod backwards. Through Sīstan, Bahrām proceeded to Kirman[3] to seek the help of Arslan Shāh (b. Kirman Shah b. Qawu'rd b. Chaghrī Beg Abū Sulaimān Dawūd) who ruled from (Friday) the 22nd of Muḥarram, A.H. 495 (16th November, 1101) to 537/1142. This king treated Bahrām with great regard and affection, and, as Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm says, "helped him with so much money as it was beyond human capacity". He also said, "As the great king Sanjar is now on the throne it is not proper for me to give you an army, but I have done all that was in my power to help you financially." He then sent one of his nobles to Sanjar to recommend the case of Bahrām to him.

From the contemporary poet Sanā'ī we get a reference about the help of the king of Kirmān to Bahrām in the

1. Mūnisu'l-Aḥrār, Ḥabibganj, p. 691.
2. Sir H. Elliot's History, Vol. II, p. 199.
3. For these details and the treatment by Arslān Shāh, see the Tārīkh-i-Afḍal (ed. Dr. Bayānī, Tehran, 1326) pp. 22-23, and Tawārīkh-i-Āl-i-Saljūq-i-Kirmān (Houtsma, Berlin 1886), pp. 25-27. The date of his death in Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥī (Bankipore, f. 164a) is 536/1141. The poet 'Uthmān-i-Mukhtārī was one of his admirers (Majmū'a-i-Qaṣāid No. 45/2, p. 20, Ḥabībganj) :—

رفتم به راه غزنین بر آب آهنین　　خفتم به حد کرمان بر آتشین سراب
لیکن مرا نمود چو داؤدو چون خلیل　　آهن بری ز قوت و آتش بری ز تاب
دارا ے برو بحر و نگهبان ملک ودین　　خورشید تخت و تاج و خداوند تیغ وشاب
بوالحارث ارسلانشه کرمانشه آن که هست　　او را معز دولت و دین از فلک خطاب

following selected verses :—

مثل ابتدای دولت شاه　　هست چون یوسف و برادر و چاه
گرچه زاخوان هوان رسید اورا　　کار محنت بجان رسید او را
آخر الامر عالم و شه شد　　بر سپهر شرف خور و مه شد
نه چو ره رفتنش نیاز آمد　　منهزم رفت و شاه باز آمد
بے زبان باز گشت سوے مکان　　خود ز سیر آفتاب را چه زبان
چون که سلطان عادل و اعظم　　ملک و دین را بکرد باهم ضم
کردازان نیزهٔ زبان باریک　　دیدهٔ عمر دشمنان تاریک
روے بخشش ازان به کرمان کرد　　تا عدو را غذاے کرمان کرد
آمده سوے شهر و از مردیش　　بوده داد و دهش ره آوردیش
گر چو شب رفت چون نهار آمد　　ور چودے رفت و چون بهار آمد
تا سوے شهر خویش باز نه شد　　دیدهٔ ملک و دینش باز نه شد
کشورے را دو بادشه فره است　　در یکے تن یکے دل از دو به است[1]

From the Ādābu'l Harb[2] we know that it was, *by divine inspiration*, that Bahrām went to the court of Sanjar and took refuge with him. He remained in his company on all occasions, and would offer himself for all work, till the Sulṭan (Sanjar) became very fond of him and made him his confidant. His praise-worthy services, cultured manners and good behaviour towards the grandees pleased them and led them to say to the king, who shared their feelings, that—

"مدتے است که خود را پیش تخت افگنده است و بدین در گه التجا ساخته و خدمتهاے پسندیده کرده و به محاسن اخلاق دل مبارک بادشاه رادر یافته، در حق او تربیت کردن و معونت فرمودن از عادت پسندیده و اخلاق حمیدهٔ بادشاه اسلام است............"[3]

On this remark the Sulṭān was relieved of his anxiety that people would blame him for helping a *stranger*

1. Hadiqa, Lucknow ed., pp. 638-642. In the 7th verse the poet refers to Bahrām's shooting of *spear*. Cf. Ādābu'l-Ḥarb (p. 31) wherein he is called an expert in *arrow* and *spear*.

2. For the details and the ensuing quotations see the Ādābu'l-Ḥarb, pp. 32-34.

3. Ibid, pp. 32-33. Cf. Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī (Raverty), p. 148, ll. 23-24 and p. 109, l. 16.

(Bahrām) against his own kith and kin (Arslān). One day when the Sultān went out hunting, Bahrām shot an arrow and transfixed two birds, which were flying one over the other The Sulṭān praised him very much and gave him a precious robe of honour and from that very day he planned to raise an army for Bahrām and the same week the latter[1] could lead a considerable force towards Ghaznīn. The writer of the Ādābu'l-Harb further explains the reason why Sanjar had helped Bahrām :—

"جملهٔ اعیان و سران لشکر را هواخواه او دیدم و جمله به یک زبان نیکو گوے او و در س دانگی و شجاعت مستثنیٰ و در تیر اندازی بے همتا۔ اندیشیدم که اگر برین جمله تیر کے می اندازد، یکے در کار من کند واین مملکت من فرو گیرد، از دست او که بیرون کند؟ هر چه کند بر مملکت پدرو جد خود کند، نه بر مملکت من"۔[2]

So, the cause of his recovering that great kingdom of Ghaznīn was, as the same writer says, only a wooden arrow.

1. Other histories; *e.g.*, Rauḍatu'ṣ-Safā (IV, p. 49), Firishta (pp. 49-50), etc. state that Sanjar himself led the army to Ghaznīn. We shall see its details later.

2. Ādābu'l-Harb, pp. 33-34.

IV

Battles With Malik Arslan

(*a*) **First Battle.**

At this time (510/1116) Sanjar was not the sole monarch of Khurāsān but a deputy[1] of his elder (real) brother Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh (d. 511/1117). He first sent letters[2] to Arslān, advising him to settle the matter with Bahrām and come to a compromise; but he refused to do so. Moreover, he (Arslan) had treated his mother "Mahd-i-'Irāq" very badly[3]. Eventually these reasons led Sanjar to start personally against Arslān in 510/1116.

When Arslān knew that Sanjar was to come personally against him he sent an envoy to Muḥammad (another near relative), requesting him to prevent Sanjar from his march. So, Muḥammad sent a messenger to Sanjar for the purpose, but instructed him not to obstruct him if he had already started for Ghaznīn. The messenger found him on his way and thus his errand was shunned.[4]

Sanjar, with an army of 30,000 men, started for Ghaznīn along with Bahrām and at Bust[5] they were joined

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1. He was a deputy of his brothers Barqyāruq (d. 498/1104) and Muhammad (d. 511/1117) in Khurāsān from 489/1095-96, and after the death of the latter he became the sole monarch of Khurāsān, 'Irāq, etc. See the 'Rāḥatu's-ṣudūr' or its summary in J.R.A.S., 1902, pp. 849-856. As long as he was a deputy, his title was "Nāṣiru'd-Dīn", and afterwards as a monarch he was called "Mu'izu'Din". See Ibn-Khaldūn (Tr. Vol. IX, p. 85).

2. Badāyūni, Calcutta ed., 1868, Vol. I, p. 39; Muḥammad Yūsuf's 'Muntakhabu't-Tawārikh', Bankipore, f. 316*a*.

3. Raverty (Tabaqāt) writes in foot-note No. 5 of page 108 that "Arslān is said to have requested her to dance before him for his amusement." But this must be an exaggeration, because she was, as we have seen, his real mother and no son, however wicked he may be, can ask his real mother to do so. This could be possible only when he was in a state of utter drunkenness. Any way, some uncommon thunders and fire are reported (Firishta, p. 50) to have occurred in his reign as "heaven's wrath".

4. Muḥammad Yūsuf's 'Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh', f. 316*a*.

5. Bust is a hot city of Sīstān and situated on the west of the Helmand (see Elliot, Vol. II, p. 575). For these details see 'Ḥabību's-Siyar', Bombay 1857, Vol. II, part IV, p. 33; Firishta, pp. 49-50; 'Ta'rikh-i-Abu'l Khair Khānī', Bankipore, f. 136*a*, etc.

by Taju'd-Dīn[1] (d. 555/1164), the ruler of Sīstān, and his brother Fakhru'd-Din.

The joint forces of these great warriors of the age frightened Arslan, although he had a large army consisting of 30,000 cavalry, innumerable infantry and 160 elephants. So he was driven to sue for peace and thus sent his mother "Mahd-i-'Iraq" to Bust, with 200,000[2] gold coins and other presents to win over Sanjar. But she was herself against Arslān, because he had treated her badly and had either killed or imprisoned all her sons. So, instead of winning Sanjar over for Arslān she added fuel to the fire of his (the former's) fury.

Thus the combined forces of Khurāsān and Sīstān marched towards Ghaznīn and at a place one 'farsakh'[3] from the city a very fierce battle was fought. Taju'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fadl of Sīstān showed great valour and killed or captured several elephants of Malik Arslān. Disaster overtook the army of the latter, it lost heart and was totally crushed. Khwāja Sa'id Mu'stawfī, of the court of Taju'd-Din, has described this event as follows :—

گفتی از صف کشیده پیل و گروه   کوه صحرا شده ست و صحرا کوه
سر خرطوم هر یک از مستی   که بلندی گرفت و که پستی
تا بر آویخت سر ز آب نهنگ   کرد اندر هوا بصد آهنگ
رفت بر اوج ماه زهره همی   بانگ نائے شنیده سپهره همی

1. His capital was Nīmrūz. Sanjar gave his sister Safiyya (Dawlat Shah, Browne, p. 107) to him. Jabalī (d. 555/1160) was one of his court-poets. For this poet see my article in the Nagpur University Journal, No. 11.

2. 'Ibnu'l-Āthīr' (Vol. X, p. 178) says that Arslān had sent 100,000 gold coins and that in the battle he had 120 elephants, each having four warriors on. The poet Mas'ud-i-Sa'd also refers in his dīwān (pp. 465-466) :—

ملک ملک ارسلان   ساکن روض الجنان
جمع شد از هر سوے   دو بست کوه روان
جمله بر آن هر یکے   یک اژدهاے دمان
بر سر هر پیل ست   نشسته یک پیلبان

3. One 'farsakh' or 'farsang' is equal to a league or one hour's march (see the note on the Nu'zhatu'l-Qulūb, J.R.A.S., Oct. 1902, p. 478). Principal Muhammad Shafi' has clearly defined it (the Oriental College Magazine, August 1933, p. 48) as equal to about *four* English miles.

ملک نیم روز نصر خلف   شد پیاده، در آمد اندر صف
پیش صف باز رفت نیزه بدست   راه پیلان بنوك نیزه ببست
دشنه در کف ، چوشیر در غرید   شکم پیل مست را بدرید
شد سراسیمه پیل و گشت ستوه   اندر آمد زپاے همچون کوه
لشکر سیستان دلیر شدند   هر یکے همچو نره شیر شدند
زور بازوے خویش بنمودند   نیزه و تیغ کار فرمودند
ملک نیم روز کرد آن روز   کارزارے که گشت ازان پیروز
خاک میدان زخون گلستان کرد   وز دلیری و پردلی آن کرد
که نه کرده ست رستم دستان   درهمه عمر خویش صد یک آن
آن یل گرز گیر و خصم شکن   آن نریمان نهاد و رستم تن
بخت و اقبال یار او گشته   جنگ و پیکار کاراو گشته
شده میدان رزم گلشن او   نه کشد کوه تاب جوشن او[1]

Besides this poet, 'Abdu'l Wasi' Jabalī has also given the account in a long panegyric of fifty-two verses in praise of Taju'd-Din. Some of them are as follows:—

چه جرم ست این بر آورده سراز دریاے موج افگن
به کوه اندر دمان آتش ، به بحر اندر کشان دامن
مصاف افروز و عالم سوز شاه نیم روز آن کبن
که در ملک ست کافی کف و وافی عهد و صافی ظن
ملک بوالفضل نصر ابن خلف فرزانه تاج الدین
که بر باید همی تاج از سر شیران شیراوژن
بدان که کز سجستان شد سوے غزنین یکے لشکر
همه با دولت خسرو، همه با صولتِ بهمن
ملک تائید، دیو آهن ، فلک تاثیر، کوه آلت
نهنگ آسیب ، شیر آفت، ملک آشوب، پیل افگن
دلیرانے که از گردون بنوك نیزه سیاره
ربودندے چو کنجشکان به منقار از زمین ارزن
مخالف جنگ را آمد برون با لشکر دیگر
چو شیران عرین پر دل ، چو دیوان لعین پر فن
درآورده به پیش صف چو گردون ژنده پیلانے
که گردون شان به وقت کین نیارد گشت پیرامن

1. 'Ta'rīkh-i-Abu'l Khair Khānī,' Bankipore, f. 136a. The first verse has "Karoh" and not "Karwah" as Raverty (p. 352) has taken it a variant in his translation of the 'Tabaqāt'.

چو کوه زفت شخص اخگر، چو غول دشت جلت گر
چو باد تیز دریا بر، چو سیل تلد هامون کن
چو ضرغام دژم جوشان، چو عفریت حرون گوشان
چو تمساح دمان هائل، چو ثعبان سیه ریمن
سپاهے از نژاد دیو و تو در جنگ شان رستم
گروهے برنهاد خوك و تو در جرشان بیژن
قضا در تیغ سیابی نشانده ریزهٔ مرجان
اجل در درع زنگاری فشانده خردهٔ ریون
چنان رفت از کمان تو سوے دشمن همی ناوك
که گاه رجم سیاره ز گردون سوے اهریمن
چو شد رائے همایونت قرین رایت اعلیٰ
شد آثار امل ظاهر، شد اسباب ظفر بین
نه گشت ازفر تو جسته ازین خون خوارگان یک کس
نه گشت از زخم تو رسته ازین بے چارگان یک تن
درین رفعت پدید آمد که ناورد از بنی آدم
چو اهل سیستان هرگز به مردی ایزد ذوالمن
خداوندا اگر هستم به شخص از خدمتت غائب
ز جور عالم جافی، ز دور گنبد توسن
[1]مرا حرز است پیوسته ثنائے تو به هر موضع
مرا ورد است همواره دعاے تو به هر مسکن

Thus Arslān was totally defeated by the combined forces[2] of Khurāsān and Sīstān, but we are forced to the conclusion that he was definitely brave enough to stand before those great warriors of his age. Any way, he had to repair to India to recoup his lost power and take aid from Muḥammad-i-Abū Ḥalīm (his viceroy in India), whom we shall discuss later.

On (Sunday) the 20th of Shawwāl[3], A.H. 510

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1. 'Mu'nisu'l-Aḥrār', Ḥabībganj, pp. 740-743.

2. From Ibn-Khaldūn (Tr., Vol. XIII, p. 1) we know that Quṭbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusain of Ghūr sided with Arslān at this time, but no practical help is recorded anywhere.

3. In Ibn-Āthīr (Vol. X, p. 178), 'Ibn-Khaldūn' (Tr. Vol. XIV, p. 132) and Abū'l-Fidā (Vol. II, p. 239) the date of Sanjar's attack on

(=25th February, 1117) Sanjar entered Ghaznīn in triumph, seated Bahrām on its throne, and remained there for forty days, i.e., up to Friday, the 1st of Dhu'l-Ḥajj, A.H. 510 (6th April, 1117). He forbade his men to do any harm to the city or to the citizens and made Bahrām his deputy or vassal to rule Afghānistān (and naturally India as well) on the understanding that the latter should pay him 1000 gold coins (dīnars) per day.[1] A tax-collector for the purpose was then posted at Ghaznīn.

The riches that fell to the lot of Sanjar included five crowns, each costing more than 1000 dinars; seventeen thrones of gold and silver and other innumerable things of the Ghaznavid treasuries.[2] All this opulence must have been accumulated ever since the foundation of that grand and splendid dynasty.

On the enthronement of Bahrām Shah the poet Sayyid Ḥasan of Ghaznīn is said to have recited a panegyric in the presence[3] of Sanjar and it began thus:—

منادی بر آمد ز هفت آسمان   که بهرام شاه است شاه جهان

Ghaznīn is A.H. 508, but it is wrong, because we have already seen above that the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd praised Arslān on his enthronement in 509/1116. Hence Sanjar's subsequent attack must have been after it. Muhammad-i-'Awfī, (Elliot, II, 199) gives the date of Arslān's defeat as *Wednesday*, the 14th of Shawwāl, A.H. 511, but on that date it was Friday and *not Wednesday*. Hence I have preferred 'Rauḍatu's-Safā' (IV, 49) in the text, because even according to Muḥammad-i-'Awfī this was Arslān's *first* defeat (and not the second one of 511/1118).

1. 'Rāḥatu'ṣ-Ṣudūr,' p. 168. The 'Ta'rīkh-i-Afḍal' (Dr. Bayānī, p. 23) records great rejoicings in Kirmān, for a week, following the enthronement of Bahrām Shah.

2. Ibn-Āthīr, X. 178; 'Hadīqatu's-Safā,' Bankipore, f. 229b. The riches must have been great, because Sanjar had to kill his able vizier Fakhru'l-Mu'lk b. Nizāmu'l-Mu'lk who had usurped much of it. See 'Habību's-Siyar' (IV, II, p. 100).

3. Tabaqāt (Raverty), p. 109; Firishta, p. 50, etc. Only this opening verse is found in several histories, but nothing about it in any copy of the poet's dīwān is available in England, France and India. In 'Ta'rīkh-i-Abul-Khair' (f. 115b) the verse is stated to have been recited by Bahrām himself, but this must be wrong. Raverty (Tabaqāt, p. 110, n. 1) says that such was the inscription on the reverse of his coins struck in Lahore in 548/1153, mentioning also 514/1120 as the 5th year of his reign. If it was the poet's verse, then it is, no doubt, the greatest honour ever done to a poet anywhere.

Sanjar then returned to Khurasān, leaving Bahrām Shāh at his capital.

(*b*) **Second Battle.**

When Sanjar had left Ghaznīn, Arslān, having collected forces from India, came to attack Bahrām Shāh. As latter was not then in a position to withstand his attack he fled and took shelter in the fortress of Bamiyān, a place to the north-west of Ghaznīn. This should have occurred not earlier than 511/1117-18, because we have already seen that up to the last month of the year A.H. 510 Sanjar had been at Ghaznīn. This time he sent an army from Balkh[1] and with that support Bahrām Shāh could be able to secure his footing. Arslān could not stand before it, so he fled but was pursued and captured in the Shakrān[2] Hills, i.e., on the Afghān[3] frontier. He was then handed over to Bahrām Shāh, who imprisoned him (in 511/1117) and then released him in 512/1118, but later killed him in Jumāda II, 512/September 1118, when he found him again intriguing against himself. He was buried in the tomb of his father Mas'ūd III at Ghaznīn[4].

From the following selected lines of the contemporary poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd we find some important points regarding this second decisive battle between the two brothers:—

ای بت لبت ملے ست که آن را خمار نیست
وی به رخت گلے ست که رسته ز خار نیست
سرو و چنار نازان در هر چمن ولیک
با حسن و زیب قد تو سرو و چنار نیست
ای قندهار گشته ز تو جا یگاه تو
واللہ که لعبتے چو تو در قندهار نیست
منت خدائے را که زمانه به کام ماست
و امروز روز دولت ما را غبار نیست

1. Muhammad 'Awfī (Elliot II, p. 199). He further adds that Bahrām had fled to Balkh.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Ibn-Āthīr (Vol. X, p. 179); Firishta, p. 50.

4. For these details see Ibn-Āthīr (ibid); Abu'l Fidā (Vol. II, p. 239), etc. See Raverty (Tabaqāt, p. 109, n. 5) for Arslān's plotting against Bahrām and (p. 109, n. 6) Arslān's death at Shāhābād in Shawwāl, A.H. 511, which is an incorrect date, as we shall see later.

در عدل می چمم که عدل اختیار کرد
شاهے که از ملوک جز او اختیار نیست
سلطان یمین دولت بهرام شاه کوست
شاهے که در زمانه ز شاهانش یار نیست
هستی سوار ملک و چنان که پیش تو
خورشید بر سپهر چهارم سوار نیست
دل در شکار شیر مبند از براے آنک
یک شیر نر ز بیم تو در مرغزار نیست
گر که گہے به چوگان بازی روا بود
گرچه ز برف روے زمین آشکار نیست
ای پیشواے و قبله خود امیدوار باش
کز عمر خویش دشمنت امیدوار نیست
پیرار و پار بنده ز جان نا امید بود
و امسال حال بنده چو پیرار و پار نیست[1]

The following points are to be noted in these lines:—

(*a*) In the last verse the poet wants to say to Bahram Shah that the *last two years* were the worst for him (the poet), because the patron's rival Arslān was then the king. This shows that the poet wrote that panegyric in 511/1117-18, when Bahrām Shāh ascended the throne.

(*b*) The verses 7-8 refer to Arslān's defeat, because the word "Arslan" in Turkish means a "lion" or "Leo", which is, as the poet says, absent from the "fourth heaven". From the twelfth verse it is quite clear that the enemy was not dead till then.

(*c*) The ninth verse clearly shows that it was the time when the ground was fully *covered with snow*, i.e., it was the *winter* of the year A.H. 511 (21st December 1117-20th March 1118).

A similar reference about Arslān's ("lion's") defeat and subsequent murder is found in Sanā'ī's 'Ḥadīqa' as well. Some of its important verses are given here :—

هر که جست اندرین ولایت صدر　　از سر جهل بود نز سر قدر
بود باغی ز بغی فسق و فساد　　چون بتاباے قوم هود ز عاد

1. The poet's dīwān, pp. 70-71.

شه ز بس خون که ریخت از شش‌سون   گوئی یاقوت شد زمین از خون
کرد بے آب خصم را در خواب   سرش از تن جدا چو کوزهٔ آب
همه جهال دهر دانند این   جملهٔ عاقلان شناسند این
که نه زیبد برائے ملک و خطاب   خرس در تخت و خوك در محراب
اندران جنگ دشمن و خصمانش   صورت شیر بود و شاد روانش
تشنه مانده زبان دشمن او   جان او خشم کرده با تن او
پیش بهرام شاه بن مسعود   ظفر و فتح در رکوع و سجود[1]

1. Hadīqa, Lucknow ed., pp. 663-666.

V

Bahram Shah's Enthronement

On the second defeat of Malik Arslān and his capture by the Saljūq army, Bahram Shāh was the sole monarch of Afghanistan and India. He ascended the throne amidst great rejoicings and the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd commemorated it with a "musammaṭ" which begins thus:—

بہرام شاہ خسرو و گیتی کشاے گشت خورشید دہر و سایۂ فر خداے گشت
چترش کہ شد ہمایون فر ہماے گشت او را خداے عز و جل رہنماے گشت
آن خنجر ز دودش دولت فزاے گشت روے عدوے او شدہ چون چتر او سیاہ
تا در زمانہ شاہ جہان تخم عدل کاشت ہر مجرمے کہ یافت از او جرم در گذاشت
گر مدح او سپہر بر آب روان گذاشت چون نقش سنگ صورتش آب روان نہ داشت
تا اوج چرخ دین حق و داد سرفراشت آن شاہ داد گستر و حق ورز و دین پناہ[1]

1. 'Mu'nisu'l-Aḥrār', Habībganj, pp. 279-280; Badāyūnī, Vol. I, p. 43.

VI

Bahram Shah's Name and Titles

His full name, as found in the 'Ṭabaqat-i-Nāṣirī,'[1] was Bahrām Shah (and not Bahrām only). His 'kunya' "Abu'l-Muzaffar" is found at several places in Sayyid Ḥasan's dīwān; e.g., in the following verses:—

ابوالمظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود که هست نامش بر نامهٔ ظفر عنوان

ابوالمظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود که جان صورت ملکست و روے دیدهٔ دین

سلطان ابوالمظفر بهرام شه که ساخت عالی هماے همتش از سدره آشیان[2]

It is just possible that this 'kunya' would have been adopted by him only after his victory over Arslān, because in the sub-heading of a canto in Sanā'ī's 'Ḥadīqa' we get another 'kunya' as "Abu'l-Ḥarith".[3]

His title "Mu'izzu'd-Dawla" is found in the following histories:—

'Ṣadr-i-Jahān' (Bkp., f. 28/*b*), 'Jannatu'l-Firdaus' (Bkp., f. 64*a*), 'Ṣu'bḥ-i-Ṣādiq' (Bkp., Vol. III, f. 1021*a*), 'Firishta' (p. 50), 'Raudatu'ṣ-Ṣafa' (1915, Vol. IV, p. 50), Ṭabaqāt (Raverty, p. 109). 'Khazīnatu'l-Auliyā' (Lucknow ed., p. 898), etc.

Another title "'Alāu'd-Dīn" or "'Alāu'd-Dawla" is found in the 'Habību's Siyar' (II, IV, 33), 'Khulāṣatu'l-Akhbār' (Bkp., f. 204*a*), 'Ta'rīkh-i-Baihaqī' (p. 71), 'Jāmi'u't-Tawārīkh' (Calcutta ed., 1938, p. 275), etc. This title is found in a verse of the poet Sayyid Ḥasan as well:—

خدایگان سلاطین مشرق و مغرب علاءِ دنیی و دین خسرو زمین و زمان[4]

But his more popular titles were "Yamīnu'd-Dawlat" and "Amīnul-Millat", as the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd recalls:—

ای پادشاه دولت و دین را یمین توئی ای شهریار ملت حق را امین توئی[5]

As this poet belonged to the early part of Bahrām Shah's reign, (because he died in 515/1121), the titles

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1. Raverty, p. 106.
2. Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris, MS. Supplement Persian 797, 5*b*, 11*a* and British Museum Or, 4514, f. 124*b*, respectively.
3. Lucknow ed., p. 625.
4. British Museum MS. (*ibid*), f. 125*a*.
5. His Dīwān, p. 560.

mentioned by him would have been in use ever since its beginning. The poet Sayyid Hasan also mentions them:—

آن امین ملت و از فتنه ملت را امان   وآن یمین دولت و از یمن دولت را یسار
مشتری منظر، شه کیوان محل، بهرام شاه   کاسمان روزگارست، آفتاب روز تار

* * *

یمین دولت و دین و امین ملت و ملک   که آرزو زیمنش ره یسار گرفت
ابوالمظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود   که زر خورشید از رای او عیار گرفت[1]

And so they are found in the preface of the 'Hadīqa' by Sanā'ī's pupil Muhammad b. 'Alī ar-Raffā, which we shall discuss later. The title "Yamīnu'd-Dawlat" is also found in his coins, which read as follows[2]:—

"Bahrām Shāh, Sultānu'l-A'zam, Yamīnu'd-Dawlat."

In the catalogue of the coins of the Indian Museum (by Chas. J. Rodgers, Calcutta, 1896, pp. 160-161) three coins of Bahram Shah are mentioned. Coin No. 7867 contains the names of the Caliph-al-Mustarshid-billāh (d. 529/1135) and Sanjar (d. 552/1157) on one side, and the names of the Holy Prophet (may peace be on him!) and Bahrām Shāh (with the said titles) on the other. I think this coin was in use in Afghānistān, because the other coins (Nos. 13167 and 8952), like those of the previous Ghaznavid rulers[3], contained, on the reverse the image of a bull (or cow?) and the inscriptions "Shri Samanta Deva" in Sanskrit, and these must have been used in India alone. This is, no doubt, a proof of the toleration of the Ghaznavids in India.

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1. British Museum MS. (*ibid*), ff. 122*b* and 119*a*, respectively. These titles are found in the 'Ta'rīkh-i-Guzīda' as well.

2. Elliot's History, II, 483. Professor Sherānī of Lahore has got several copper coins of Arslān and Bahrām and I had the privilege to see them with him.

3. For the coins of Mahmūd and later Muslim rulers, who used Sanskrit inscriptions and images of the bull, see Professor Sherān article in the Oriental College Magazine, November 1929, pp. 30-31.

VII

Bahram's Banner, Canopy and Crown

We have fully discussed the Islamic and Ghaznavid banners in the Ma'ārif (A'zamgarh, March-April, 1944), but here we shall give a short account of Bahrām's banner only. His banner was *black*, as we find in Sayyid Ḥasan's verses:—

ای رفته ز یمن رایت تو دیده به حمایت سیاهی
بهرام شه ای شاه که از رایت شبرنگ   در کوکبه چون زلف بتان ماه گرفتی[1]

Like that of his ancestors[2], Bahrām's banner, too,

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1. India Office MS. No. 931, ff. 142*a* and 110*b*, respectively.

2. About Maḥmūd's banner we have got no definite record, but the following verse of 'Unṣurī (d. A.D. 1040) suggests that it was *black* (Dīwān, Lucknow 1922, p. 42):—

عبای پرنیان بر نیزهٔ او   ردای خویش بربستی پیمبر

This view of mine should be correct, because from 'Ta'rīkh-i-Gardīzī' (Qazvīnī, pp. 49, 69, 76, etc.) we know that Maḥmūd and his successors received diplomas, titles and *banners* from the Abbaside Caliphs in recognition of sovereignty or some victory, and as these Caliphs were using *black* banners (Hasting's Enc. of Religion and Ethics, XII, 145 seqq.) they must have sent the same to the Ghaznavids. The following verse of 'Unsurī (pp. 89-90) may suggest that Maḥmūd (like his descendants) had a lion's image on his banner:—

برون برد علم تو ز مغز شیران هوش
برون برد کرم تو ز روی پیران چین
بدیع لفظ تو در است و افتخار صدف
بزرگ باس تو شیر است و روزگار عرین

But about his descendants we get clear records. His grandson Ibrāhīm (d. 492/1099) had a lion's device on his banner, as Abu'l Faraj Rūnī, who died *after* 497/1104 (vide the Oriental College Magazine, May 1938, p. 55), says in his dīwān (Chaikeen, p. 61):—

چو شیر رایت شیر دلیر او بیدل
چو شاخ آهوی شاخ درخت او بی بر

About Mas'ūd III (d. 508/1115) the same poet (p. 89) says:—

در جهد باس او به شیر فلک   اگر اندر شود به شیر علم

(Contd. opposite)

contained an image of a "lion". The poet Sanā'ī refers to it in his verses in praise of Bahrām thus:—

هر کجا شاه ما بتافت عنان شیر رایات او شود همه جان
رای رایان به تیغ کرده قلم نیزه را شیر کرده شیر علم[1]

The following verses of Sayyid Ḥasan also give the same reference:—

آن چنان شیر علم سر بفرازد به مثل
گوئی از چشمهٔ خورشید کند آب خوری

* * *

زنده از باد مشو بیهده چون شیر علم
تکیه بر خاک مکن خیره چو نقش ایوان[2]

Like Maḥmūd[3], Bahrām Shāh had also a "crescent" as his symbol, on the pennon of his banner, as we gather from the following verses of the same poet:—

The same Rūnī (p. 77) says about Mas'ūd III's brother Saifu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd:—

چندان علم شیر برافراشت که بفزود
ز ایشان به فلک برج اسد بی عدد اشکال

The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd (p. 563) speaks of Sherzād (d. 509/1116) as follows:—

خشت او بس که کرد شیران کم شیر گردون بماند و شیر علم

The Saljukids, too, had a *lion's image* on their banner and it is just possible that it was due to their influence that Ibrāhīm, who had to make alliance with Malik Shāh, adopted it for his own banner. Before him, as we have just seen, we get no clear and definite evidence of the same even in the verses referred to Mahmūd above. About Sanjar's banner, with a lion's image, we find several verses of Anwarī in his Kulliyāt (Lucknow 1297/1880); e.g., pp. 17, 61, 290, etc. Even those petty rulers who flourished after Sanjar, like Fīroz Shāh and Malik Shāh b. Tughān-tigin, had such banners (see 'Anwarī', pp. 76, 382, 410).

1. Hadīqa, Bombay ed., p. 340 and Lucknow ed., p. 659 respectively.

2. India Office MS., No. 931, ff. 44*a* and 128*b*.

3. From Hasting's Enc. of Religion and Ethics, XII, 146, we know that Mahmūd had introduced "crescent" as a sign of rule and domination in India.

ماه اگر گشتے ز ماه رایت او بهره ور
مهر اگر بودے ز ماه رایت او مایه دار

دو بیتی[1]: بگذشت هلال رایت شاه از ماه
من پاے به گل دو دست کوتاه از جاه
دور افتادم به قصد بد خواه از راه
ای شاه ز بنده دور کن کاه از کاه

Again like Maḥmud[2], he had a *black* canopy and a *white* crown, as we find in the following verses of Sayyid Ḥasan:—

مگر ز چتر تو شام سیاه گردون خواست
چو فر تاج تو صبح سپید کار گرفت

*   *   *

رتبت چتر سیاهت همچو مرغ روز کور
لا جرم تا شد همه چشمش سپید از انتظار

*   *   *

ملک دگر دار امید زان که بدادت نوید
صبح ز تاج سپید، شام ز چتر سیاه

*   *   *

از تاج تست عکسے صبح سفید پوش
وز چتر تست خالے شام سیاه وار[3]

1. India Office MS. (*ibid*), ff. 21*b* and 182*b*, respectively.

2. Maḥmūd's court-poet Farrukhī (d. 429/1038). while praising his brother Yūsuf, the commander-in-chief of India, refers to the *black* canopy and (probably to the black) banner (Intikhāb-i-Farrukhī, Lahore, 1354, p. 25) thus:—

چتر سیه و رایت تو سایه فگنده ست
در هند به هر جاے که حصنے و حصاریست

Sanjar had also a *black* canopy, as this verse shows:—

چون چتر سنجری رخ بختم سیاه باد   با فقر گے بود هوس ملک سنجرم

In the 'Miftāḥu'ṭ Tawārīkh' by Thomas William Beale (Agra ed, 1848, p 69) this verse is said to belong to Shaikh 'Abdu'l Qādir Jīlānī (d. 561/1166), but in the 'Intikhāb-i-Shu'arā-i-Mutaqaddimīn (Ḥamīdia Library, Bhopal, No. 3, f. 343*b*) it has been ascribed to 'Irāqī (d 688/1289). In this MS. (f. 359*b*) from Anwarī's following verse it appears that Sanjar's canopy bore an image of a lion:—

سلطان سلاطین که شیر چترش   در معرکه سلطان شکار باشد

But in the 'Kulliyāt-i-Anwarī' (Lucknow 1180, p. 103) it is "bāz-i-Chatrash" in the first hemistich of the verse.

3. India Office MS. (*ibid*), ff. 20*b*, 22*a*, 114*a*, and Paris MS. Suppl. 797 f. 10*b*, respectively.

The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd has also referred to Bahram Shah's black canopy :—

آن خنجر ز دودش دولت فزاے گشت
روے عدوے او شدہ چون چتر او سیاہ[1]

From the Ādābu'l-Harb (Lahore, May 1938, p. 9) we know that Bahrām Shāh's father Mas'ūd III had a *falcon* on his canopy and so the son had, as the poet Sayyid Hasan says:—

مبارك اوج تخت او فلک را بر کنار آرد
خجسته باز چتر او جهان را زیر پر دارد[2]

1. Badāyūni, Cal. ed., 1868, Vol. I, p. 43. This poet (dīwān, pp. 490, 664) refers to the *white* crown and *black* canopy of Malik Arslān as well :—

روے دولت سپید و قصر سپید روز دشمن سیاہ و چتر سیاہ

*　　*　　*

گوید سپہر باشد دولت سپید روے تا ھست چتر ملک ملک ارسلان سیاہ

2. India Office MS. (*ibid*), f. 95*a*.

VIII

Bahram's Invasions Of India

(*a*) First Invasion.

We have already seen above that Malik Arslan had come to India seeking military aid from his viceroy (or deputy) Muḥammad-i-Abū Ḥalīm for his second attempt to regain his throne of Ghaznīn.

Subsequently, when Bahrām Shāh ascended the throne of Ghaznīn, this Viceroy[1], being in favour of Arslān,

1. He belonged to the Zarīr or Shaibāni family. Their first ancestor, about whom we find references in the Ghaznavid period, came from Jājarm (a city at the western limit of the Juwain plain, south-east of Isfarāyin *vide* Nuzhatu'l-Qulūb, p. 196, Bombay) during the reign of Ibrāhīm (d. 492/1099). The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd (pp. 370-371) says about him in a panegyric in praise of that king :—

شدش فرامش آن حال کامد از جاجرم
محمد قباے پوشیده پاره و خلقان
چو یافت از ملک شرق زور و زهرهٔ شیر
بدو سپرد ملک مرغزار ہندستان
ز رزم جویان دادش چہل ہزار سوار
چو تیغ آخته قد و چو نیزه بسته میان
چو از قبائل نسبت همی به شیبان کرد
شدند بر فلک از مفخرش بنی شیبان
طلوع بودش چون نجم و نجم نام ویست
غروب باشد آرے پس از طلوع بدان

This Najmu'd-Dīn had been in prison, along with the poet himself, in the fort of Nāi. Thus he (pp. 518-519) says :—

بده انصاف آن چه می بینی　　من نه گفتم ترا به قلعهٔ ناے
مژدها دادمت به قوت دل　　وعدها کردمت به صحت راے
قالهاے که من زدم دیدی　　که چگونه تمام کرد خداے
رتبت بو حلیمیان بر کش　　افتخار زریریسان بفزاے

Rūni refers to this Abū Ḥalīm Najmu'd-Dīn in his dīwān (pp. 27-28) :—

به جنگ شیر عرب نجم دین و صدر جہان
چو شاخ معجزه هم اژدها و هم خشب است

(*Cont. to opposite*)

revolted against and renounced allegiance to him. When this news reached Ghaznīn, Bahrām Shāh instantly prepared himself and repaired to India with a large force. He defeated and captured the Viceroy in Lahore on (Saturday) the 27th Ramadān[1], A.H. 512 (11th January, 1119). This was probably the first time when two Muslim armies came to a clash in the Panjab.

Bahrām Shāh, realizing that Muḥammad-i-Abū-Ḥalīm was an able and experienced man, forgave him and put him again in the charge of India and went back to Ghaznīn.

موافق آمد با رای طبع کنیت او
که حلم او که قدرت قوی تر از غضب است

Referring to his 'Kunya' "Abū-Ḥalim", the same poet (pp. 49-51) says:—

از جهان آفرین هزار هزار　　آفرین باد بر سپه سالار
بو حلیم زریر شیبانی　　پیل صفدار و شیر آتش کار

Rūnī praises him again on pp. 99-101, and then his son Zarīr (Muhammad) on pp. 47-48 when he became the commander-in-chief in India under Mas'ūd III:—

زکسب جاه پدر شاد باد و برخوردار
زریر نجم سپه پرورے سپه سالار
کند به خشم همه سقف ذاتش الا ظلم
کشد به حلم همه رنج عرضش الا عار
نظام دولت محمودیان ملک مسعود
که اختیار خدایست و افتخار تبار

The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd also refers to this Zarīr Muḥammad (b. Abū Ḥalīm) and his brother Rabī' on pp. 232 and 387 and also the former's two relatives (most probably the sons) on p. 181:—

شاد باش ای زریر دولت یار　　دیر زی ای گزین سپه سالار
باز در مرغزار هندستان　　شاخ مردی سعادت آرد بار
پسر بو حلیم شیبانی　　سرکش و صفدر و یل و سردار
به شعیب و غضنفر این دو هژبر　　که سپاه گران سبک بشمار
آن چنان دان که نصرت و فتح اند　　این عزیزانت بریمین و یسار

See also Principal M. Shafī's note on p. 58 of the 'Adābu'l-Ḥarb'.

1. For these details see 'Ṭabaqāt' (Cal., p. 24), Firishta (p. 50), etc.

(*b*) Second Invasion of India.

After Bahrām Shāh's departure from India, Muḥammad-i-Abū Ḥalīm built a fortress at Nāgor (near Bhīra) in the province of Sawālik[1] (West Panjab). He then collected large armies, consisting of Arab, Persian and Afghan soldiers and defeated several hostile and insurgent Indian princes[2]. These victories made him swollen-headed, so he again revolted against Bahrām Shāh and declared himself an independent ruler of the Panjab.

He then gathered[3] together a large number of Rānās, Thākurs and chiefs of India from Bākaz (or Bākar ?) and other places. Thus his army consisted of seventy thousand horsemen of different nationalities, and a horde of foot-soldiers whose number exceeded a lakh or two. The news of the evil intentions of Muḥammad-i-Abū Ḥalīm reached Ghaznīn and Bahrām, eventually, marched into India[4] in 513/1119, at the head of about ten thousand horsemen and crossed the Indus.

In the vicinity of Multan there is a village called Kīkyūr (?), surrounded by a very spacious prairie land. Muḥammad encamped there and flooded a portion of that prairie land, so that by remaining under water it might become a marsh and morass[5] wherein the army of Bahrām

1. For Swālik see Professor Sherānī's note in the Oriental College Magazine, August 1937, pp. 52-55.

2. For these details see 'Tabaqāt' (Cal., p. 24), Firishta (p. 50) etc.

3. From this sentence up to the end of the Viceroy I have followed the 'Adābu'l-Ḥarb' (pp. 45-47) and particularly its translation in the 'Islamic Culture', April 1938, pp. 224-227.

4. This date is found only in the article by Maulānā Abū Ẓafar Nadvī in the 'Ma'ārif', June 1938, and it is, most probably correct, because after the first battle on 27-9-512 (11th January 1119) Bahrām would have taken some months to go back and come again from Ghaznīn for this second battle, when his Viceroy had already built his fortress at Nāgor.

5. The same Maulānā thinks that this morass would have been created near Multan because of the Sutlej and the Jehlum or near Uchh (at Ghaghar) where the river disappears into a plain. Miss Shafi' ('Islamic Culture', April 1938, p. 225, n. 5) thinks that Raverty's reading (Ṭabaqāt, I, 110 n. 4') بریتی or بوریتی may possibly be نورنی, which is a name of the joint stream of the Byās and the Sutlej, thus locating the battlefield near the Ghāra Ms. In Firishta (p. 50) it is زمین جماعهء and in تاریخ ابوالخیر خانی (Bankipore, f. 115*a*) it is نیستان و گلزار.

Shāh might skin. His (Muḥammad's) son Mu'taṣim, a mighty man who used to fight with a mace weighing forty maunds, said to his father, "Allow me to go and defeat the whole army of the Su'lṭān with this scourge of mine."

"Be patient," replied his father, "till they (the Ghazanvid hosts) have crossed all the rivers. They have not so far crossed even one. They will hear of your arrival and fly back. Let them cross the river Chandrāhah (Chināb). The half of their army will be disposed of by the morass and the other half by us. Thus we will defeat and rout them all."

The writer of the Ādābu'l-Ḥarb remarks that the Viceroy failed to think of his rebellion and ingratitude for which God would punish him and grew haughty on the strength of his infidel irregulars, hence divine aid forsook him.

Bahrām Shāh sent a messenger to him with the words: "Desist from your rebellious course and return to obedience, for you were brought up surrounded by our favours and you have been nurtured under our fostering care. We do not want to uproot the sapling which we ourselves have planted in the courtyard of our kingdom and nourished with the water of favours and kindness, for though you deserve to be supplanted, we do not deem it proper to supplant you due to our generosity and forgiveness. So take the robe of honour and wear it, for we give the whole of Hindustān to you and entrust you with the military command of the whole of Hind. Desist from your evil course and do not bring disgrace upon yourself, for your father (Najmu'd-Dīn Abū Ḥalīm) had rendered meritorious services to this kingdom and received favours befitting those services. We shrink from his shade!"

When the messenger delivered this message, he (Muḥammad) replied thus. "What is the use of all this talk, for tomorrow my head will be either under the hooves of the horse of the Su'lṭān or on the throne of the kingdom."

When the messenger heard these words he took them as a good omen, for he (Muḥammad) himself had given utterance to such expressions. The messenger returned and repeated his words before the king, who said, "An omen is

taken from something which has happened. Tell the army to mount their horses."

The drums were beaten and the army ranged itself in battle-order. The ungrateful Muḥammad-i-Abū Ḥalīm spread his umbrella and delivered an attack on the centre. In the very first assault they overthrew him and a few of his sons had placed his head on the spear. It so happened that the tract which he had flooded with water in order that it should turn into a morass and engulf the army of the Su'lṭān was visited by a wind-storm in which, it is narrated, they saw riders wearing green apparel and riding grey horses, who swept the whole army of Muḥammad in that direction, until they were all engulfed in that very morass; not one escaped.

One of his sons Ibrāhīm, who was desirous to serve the Su'lṭān—and سیوروریات (شیبانیان ?) are his descendants escaped unharmed, while Muḥammad, along with his seventeen[1] sons, was slain in the battle.

In that tract up to this day, as the writer of the Ādābu'l-Ḥarb remarks, when one digs a canal, or a reservoir, or a well, one finds, embedded in the earth, decayed skeletons of men and horses, rusty and torn armour, and coats of mail.[2]

About this battle we find some details in a panegyric of Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī, who had himself come to India with Bahrām Shāh, as is found in its opening line:—

[3] چون زغزنین کردم آهنگ ره هندوستان
از سپاه روم خیل زنگ می بستد جهان

And this poet was a horseman (or warrior ?), as we understand from a verse of the same panegyric:

ادهم شب در تغیر کار من چون زر از انک
هم تک او نقره خنگی داشتم در زیر ران

1. From 'Ṭabaqāt'. (Cal. p. 24) and Firishta (p. 50, l. 25) we know that *two* sons were drowned in the morass, but Raverty (p. 110) has preferred 'ten' in place of 'two'.

2. Up to this sentence I have followed the 'Adābu'l-Ḥarb, and its English translation, as mentioned above.

3. India Office MS., No. 931, ff. 115*b*-116*a*.

Bahrām Shāh crossed the Indian rivers (and particularly the Indus, vide Sanā'ī's verses, infra) in long boats, as is described in the same panegyric:

بر کران آبها از آسمان سیمای او
بسته کشتیهای طولانی زراه کهکشان
در گزایش چون‌شهاب و در نمایش چون هلال
راست رو مانند تیر و گوشه گشته چون کمان
پیش موسیٰ بحر قلزم گشت گوئی کوی او
پیش سلطان چون شده بر آب کشتیها روان
شاه را چون دیده بر تخت در کشتی عروس
دیده خورشید را در جرم ماه نو مکان
این چنین راهے مرا خوش‌تر زبر گشتن نمود
در پناه رایت منصور سلطان جهان
آفتاب دین و دولت ظل حق بهرام شاه
آن ظفر سیماے نصرت قدرت دولت توان

The poet Sanā'ī also gives some description about this battle in the following verses :—

لو هووری ز بس که در غم بود | راست ماتم سرای آدم بود
جور چون دور چرخ دم در دم | کار چون زلف یار خم در خم
از دل هندوان رمیده حیات | ترک تزکان شمرده در درکات
رحمتے بوده آب و گل همه را | زحمتے گشته جان و دل همه را
کرد ناگه ز فر تاج و کلاه | شاه بهرام شاه رامشگاه
فتنه را آب ریخت بر آتش | زه ره آموز ابر دریا کش
عزم شه کامران چو گردون بود | دشمنش بے‌سپر چو هامون بود
خصم اگر داد پشت هیچ مگوے | کز زمین پشت به‌ز گردون‌روے
مهد او بر فراز پیل جموح | کوه جودی برو سفینهٔ نوح
کرده فرزند خصم را به اثر | زادن و مردنش بهم چو شرر
خصم در پیش گرزش از ملک است | همچو دنبال کژدم فلک است
خصم زادش ز بیم آهرمن | جان به رشوت پذیرد اندر تن
مغز را حزم شاه خواب ببرد | آب را عزم شاه آب ببرد
تا بدید آتش سنان سیحون[1] | هم بر آن آب نیست آب کنون

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1. Ḥadīqa, Lucknow ed., pp. 656-659.

The following points are to be noted in these verses:—

(*a*) The tenth and twelfth verses show that *one* son of the enemy (most probably Mu'taṣim, about whom we have read in the Ādābu'l-Ḥarb) fell on the battle-field. His skill in mace-weilding (Ādāb, p. 45, *l.* 13) has, perhaps, prompted the poet to mention his patron's mace in the eleventh verse, although the latter was skilled (*ibid*, p. 31, *ll.* 14-15) in arrow and spear.

(*b*) The river "Saiḥūn"[1] is definitely the Indus which Bahram Shah had to cross in order to reach the fortress of Nagor (Sawalik).

The poet Sayyid Ḥasan again refers to the same attack and specially to the buttressed fort in a panegyric :—

زهے رونق ملک از سر گرفته   به یک تاختن هفت کشور گرفته
برانده به لاهور فال سعادت   بنام خدا و پیمبر گرفته
ز پیلان چون کوه تازان به هیجا   فضاے جهان شکل محشر گرفته
عدو همچو مه سهره برچیده از تو   چو مردان ره آن جهان بر گرفته
بنا میزد این دز با پشتواره   به تائید و توفیق داور گرفته
بنا میزد این دز و این مملکت را   سپرده به دیوار و در بر گرفته
[2] بحمد الله اکنون نه بینم که بارے   مکان خداوند چاکر گرفته

And the following panegyric also seems to have been written in India by the same poet :—

می بنازد باز گوئی خطهٔ هندوستان
شکر حق گوید همی بسیار هستش جاے آن
هم حریمش روشنائی می دهد بر آفتاب
هم زمینش سر فرازی می کند بر آسمان
آفتاب دین و دولت ظل حق بهرام شاه
آن که او چون یک فرشته آدمی ندهد نشان
خسروا هر کین سفر دریافت شد سیاره اے
منت ایزد را که هستی خسرو سیارگان

1. Besides the Jaxartes, our Indus was also called "Saiḥūn," See the 'Zainu'l-Akhbār' Qazvīni ed. 69-70), and 'Muayyidu'l-Fuḍalā' (Lucknow ed., Vol. I, p. 499). But in Juwaini's 'Jahānkushā (Elliot II, 390 and 393) "Jaihun" stands for the Indus.

2. Br. Museum MS., No. 4514, ff. 125*b*-126*a*.

برخورد شاهی که امروز از فراوان خلعت
نو بهار هفت رنگ آمد پدید اندر خزان
منکران شرع را در هم شکن همچون عنب
خستگان شرک را در هم فکن چون ناردان
[1] تابدین توفیق با کام دل و نام بزرگ
سوے دار الملک بر تابی به فیروزی عنان

The last verse clearly shows that the poet wrote the panegyric in India and that with that victory his patron would return to his capital Ghaznīn. In the fifth verse the poet mentions the season of *autumn* when the spring of victory appeared with all its seven colours. As the first victory of Bahrām Shāh had been achieved on the 27th Ramaḍān, 512 (11-1-1119; *i.e.*, *in winter*) this *autumn* of A.H. 513 (21-9-1119-20-12-1119) would be the time of the second victory only.

After the total collapse of these rebels, Bahrām Shāh appointed one Husain[2] b. Ibrahīm 'Alawī as the Viceroy of

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1. India Office MS., No. 931, ff. 115b-116a. In the same MS. (ff. 9a-9b) we find another panegyric referring to this particular occasion :—

کشاد صورت دولت به شکر شاه دهان
چو بست زیور اقبال بر عروس جهان
خدایگان سلاطین مشرق و مغرب
علاء دنیی و دین خسرو زمین و زمان
ابو المظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود
که هست نامش بر نامهٔ ظفر عنوان
تبارک الله آن ساعت خجسته چه بود
که باز گشت مظفر ز غز و هندوستان

The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd (pp. 114-115) also refers to this defeat of the enemy :—

کوس ملک آواز نصرت بر کشید
کفر و شرک از هول آن سر در کشید
فخر شاهان جهان بهرام شاه
شد سوے هندوستان لشکر کشید
چون عروس شرم گین بد خواه شاه
سر ز شرم شاه در چادر کشید

2. Firishta, p. 50.

India and went back to Ghaznīn. This Viceroy seems to have been loyal, because there is no record otherwise about him. The poet Sayyid Ḥasan has praised him in the following panegyric :—

که دهد یار مرا از من بیدل خبرے — که کند سوے من خسته به رحمت نظرے
از شب زلف تو گمراه نه مانم که مرا — روز اقبال امیر است نکو راه برے
آفتاب همه سادات حسین آن کامروز — نیست در خطهٔ اسلام چو او نام ورے
نه چو تو باشد هر کو بود از نسل علی — گر چه از کوه بود لعل بدان سر حجرے
آن چنان شیر علم سر بفرازد به مثل — گوئی از چشمهٔ خورشید کند آب خورے
صف کفار چنان بر شکنی کز تیغت — سقرے نقد ببینند و چه تَنوَزان سقرے
ای که در روضهٔ ملک از پئی سر سبزئی دین — شجرے کشتئی نهمار و مبارک شجرے
[1]چون توئی را چومنے شاید اگر بستاید — قدر خورشید کجا داند هر بے بصرے

After this Viceroy, Muḥammad b. Manṣūr Qā'inī seemed to have been put in charge of India some time after 524/1130, because by that date Sanā'ī began to write his *Hadiqa*, (Lucknow ed. p. 743) wherein he calls him an *assistant* to the vizier of Ghaznīn. The details about Muḥammad will be found in a separate work on the poet Sayyid Ḥasan, but here we quote one of his panegyrics in his (Muḥammad's) praise :—

عمر مرا هواے لهاوور بوده بود
همت بر آن سعادت مقصود بوده بود
نزدیک تر نمودی از جان بنزد من
زان پس که خود زمن چو دلم دور بوده بود
نزدیک نور نیک بدیع است و بس عجب
گوئی که آفتاب مگر دور بوده بود
نی نی چنین به دفع لهاوور کے بود
این نکته بر ضمیرم مستور بوده بود
دیدم کنون که خاصیت نور آفتاب
در همت محمد منصور بوده بود
[2]صدرے که هر یک از پدر و جد و او چنون
در مملکت به رادی مشهور بوده بود

1. India Office MS., ff. 43a.-44a.
2. *Ibid*, f 139 a.

Anyway, from the year 513/1119 up to 528/1134 Bahrām Shah seems to have enjoyed a peaceful and prosperous reign and patronised the literati, as we shall see later.

We have already seen above how Sanjar had made Bahram Shah the king of Ghaznīn, on the understanding that the latter should pay him one thousand dīnārs (gold coins) a day. Subsequently, Sanjar's name was also inscribed on the coins which were current in Ghaznīn and its vicinity though not on those of India. But the daily tribute of gold coins[1] was really too much for Bahrām to pay, because, as I think, he could not expect so much income every day from a poor province as Ghaznīn, or even from Upper India. Moreover, all the treasures of his ancestors had been taken away by Sanjar in 510/1116. So he stopped paying it in 529/1135. From Ibn-Āthir (Vol. XI, 1303, p. 11) we summarise here the accounts of this affair :—

"In the month of Dhil-Qa'da A.H. 529 (August 1135), Sanjar left Khurasan, (Merv) for Ghaznīn, on hearing about Bahrām's non-payment of tribute and the renunciation of his allegiance. On the way a few months were spent. The winter season had set in and the snow began to fall. The army expressed their difficulties therefrom, but the Sultan preferred to proceed. When Ghaznīn approached, Bahrām got frightened and sent a messenger apologising for his disloyal

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1. Besides this tribute, Bahrām seems to have sent his eldest son Daulat Shāh as a hostage to the court of Sanjar, as is suggested in the following lines (specially the 7th one) of Sanā'ī who wrote them in 524/1130 when Daulat Shāh had already come back :—

باز بر دولت دو عالم شاه   شاه و فرزند شاه دولت شاه
آن چو خورشید چرخ را در خورد   وان چو بدر فلک سفر پرورد
از پئے قہر خویش و بد خواهان   بندهٔ شاه و خواجهٔ شاهان
رنج دیده چو یوسف از پئے ناز   در غریبی و باد شه شده باز
چون سیاؤش رفته ز آفت نو   آمده باز همچو کیخسرو
گرچه بسیار سال بر نشمرد   نبود هیچ طفل بخرد خرد
چون بدانست بندگی کردن   پس بدانست بنده پروردن

These lines are from the 'Hadīqa' (Lucknow ed., pp. 626 628). In the Bombay edition (p. 324) the 7th verse has مردمی کردن instead بندگی کردن, but the latter expression is to be preferred in view of the second hemistich

conduct. Sanjar then sent his attendant Jauhar[1] (who had been raised to the position of the governor of Ray) with a reply asking Bahrām to come personally and pay homage. Bahrām then proceeded to the camp of Sanjar with Jauhar. Sanjar on his own part advanced with his army to meet him, but Bahrām ran away out of fear,[2] to some place with a group of attendants. Sanjar then marched to Ghaznīn, stayed there for a few months and took possession of all the treasures of Bahrām. At length, Sanjar knew of Bahrām's hiding place and he wrote to him censuring him for his ill-advised act and re-affirming his offer of mercy. He maintained that his sole aim was to reclaim Bahrām to his allegiance. Bahrām then offered apologies and was again entrusted with the charge of Ghaznīn. Sanjar then returned to Balkh in the month of Shawwāl, 530 (July, 1136)."

Muhammad 'Awfi (Lubāb I, pp. 281-282) writes that one Fakhru'd-Dīn Muhammad b. Mahmūd b. Ahmad, of Nīshāpūr could win Sanjar's mercy for Bahrām Shāh by reciting this quatrain:—

گر آب دهی نہال خود کاشتۂ   ور پست کنی بنائے خود افراشتۂ
من بندہ ہمانم کہ تو پنداشتۂ   از دست میفگنم چو بر داشتۂ

1. One Mihtar Jauhar was the Atābak (Lt. "Father Prince") of Bahrām also. See Ādābu'l-Harb,' p. 4.

2. According to Jahānkusha of Juwainī, when Bahram fled before Sanjar at this time, the latter remarked to his staff, "There is a back whose face one will not be able to see again." But from 'Raudatu's Safā' (Vol. IV, 1915, p. 126) we know that it was said about Atsiz by Sanjar.

IX

Bahram versus the Ghorids

The Ghorids claimed their descent from the cruel Dahhak, who was killed by Farīdūn. Their first Muslim ancestor was Shansab (hence they are called the Shansabāniya rulers) who had been converted to Islam by Haḍrat 'Alī, the fourth Caliph. He occupied Ghūr[1] and his descendants ruled there uninterruptedly, till the Ghorid ruler Muhammad b. Sūrī manifested a refractory spirit and refused allegiance to Maḥmūd Ghaznawī,[2] who captured him and appointed his son Abū 'Alī in his place. After him his nephew (brother's son) 'Abbās b. Shīth ruled over Ghor and revolted against Ibrāhīm, the grandson of Maḥmūd. Ibrāhīm imprisoned him and appointed his son Muhammad in his stead, who was later succeeded by his son Qutbu'd-Dīn Hasan. His son

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1. From the Rauḍatu's-Safā (1915, vol. IV, p. 36.) we know that Shansab had obtained a written order from Haḍrat 'Alī to occupy Ghor and that order was preserved by his dynasty till the time of Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznin.

2. In an essay by Sayyid Hasan 'Alī (British Museum, Or. 2045) we find this note :—

بعضے مؤرخین قضیهٔ محمد سوری را برو جہے دیگر ایراد نموده اند و آن
این است که سلطان غزنین ، محمد سوری را محاصره کرده بروے ظفر نه یافت ،
عاقبت بعهد و میثاق او را بدست آوردو بند کرد و بغزنین برد ـ چون مدے
از حبس او گذشت سلطان با او گفت که پسر خود حسن را از غور بطلب
تا ملازم درگاه ما باشد و من متعهد می شوم که هر گاه حسن بیاید ترا از
حبس بگذارم تا بولایت خود بروی ـ چون محمد سوری حسن را طلبید و او
بغزنین رسید ، سلطان او را نیز مقید گردانید و او بعد چندے از حبس گریخته
بغور رفت و میان اولاد سوری و احفاد غزنوی منازعت قائم شد ـ

But these are the actual wordings of the Raudatu's-Safā (IV, 36, *ll*. 23-26), which Sayyid Hasan 'Alī has ascribed to himself and thus failed to understand that there would be "Shīth" in place of "Hasan" in the passage (Cf. the Tabaqāt, Cal. 1864, p. 40), because Ḥasan, the father of Ḥusain and the grandfather of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain "Jahān-Sūz", could never be the contemporary of Maḥmūd of Ghaznin.

'Izzu'd-Dīn Huṣain, who had been to India for trade, returned to Ghaznīn after his escape from storms. Mas'ūd III (son of Ibrāhīm) liked him very much and he made him his vassal at Ghūr. This Huṣain[1] had seven sons and with them Bahrām Shāh was engaged both in peace and in wars. The eldest son was Fakhru'd-Dīn Mas'ūd, who ruled over Tukhāristān (capital Bāmiyān), apparently after 511/1117/18, when Bahrām had shut himself up at the time of his brother Arsalān's attack. The second son Quṭbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad became the ruler of Ghor province (capital Fīrūzkoh) and was the first Ghorid to take for himself the title of Maliku'l-Jibāl or "the King of the Mountains." This prince had, according to Ibn-Khaldūn (Tr., vol. VIII, p. I), supported (not actually helped with forces) Arslān against his brother Bahram. In spite of this enmity, Bahrām gave his daughter to this prince, most probably, to strengthen their mutual relations.[2]

From *Firishta* (p. 55) and *Ṣubh-i-Ṣadiq* (Bkp. MS., vol. III, f. 1112b) we learn that Qutbu'd-Dīn Muhammad, having made himself secure at Fīrūzkoh, desired to take Ghaznīn and when Bahrām knew of his intentions, he (Bahrām) invited him there. But Ibn-Athīr (vol. XI, p. 51) says that Muḥammad b. Ḥuṣain along with his staff (including his brother Ṣaifu'd-Dīn Sūrī, *cf. Firishta*, p. 55), came to Ghaznīn of his own accord, showing that he was coming just to pay him obeisance, but in reality desiring to capture Ghaznīn.[3]

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1. There is much difference of opinion about the correct name of this ruler and also about that of his son 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥuṣain. Even Professor Browne calls this ruller as *Ḥaṣan* and not Ḥusain (*vide J.R.A.S.* Oct. 1902, p. 852 and its note). But, in fact, both were Ḥuṣain :—

(*a*) Nizāmī 'Arūḍī, the court-poet of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥuṣain, calls him Ḥuṣain, the son of Ḥusain, in his Maqāla II, story I.

(*b*) 'Alāu'd-Dīn himself gives these names in his own verses which we quote here, but will discuss later.

گر غزنین را زبیخ و بن بر نه کنم   پس من نه حسینی ابن حسین حسنم
علاء الدین حسین ابن حسینم   که دائم باد ملک خاندانم

For full details about these names see my essay in the Ma'ārif, July 1940.

2. For these details see Firishta' pp 54-55.

3. Ibn-Khaldūn (Tr. vol. XIII. p. 2) gives the date of Muḥammad's arrival at Ghaznīn as 543/1147-48 and I think it would have been in the beginning of that year, because some months must have elapsed, after his death, for bringing fresh army from Ghūr and then capturing Ghaznīn in Jumādā I of the same year. Professor Browne (vol. II, p. 306) gives the date of his arrival as 12 years after 1135; *i.e.*, A.D. 1147.

There is still a different version[1] that Muḥammad came to Ghaznīn annoyed with his brothers and that Bahrām made him his courtier and it was then that he was married to the daughter of Bahrām. At any rate, it was only after his admittance to Bahrām's court, as several historians have recorded, that one day Muaḥmmad was found dead (of poison) and this was believed to have been done at the instigation of his father-in-law.

1. Maulāna Maḥmūd Nadvi's Daulat-i-Ghaznawiya, p. 389. ll. 6-7.

X

First Capture of Ghaznin by the Ghorids

Saifu'd-Dīn Sūri,[1] who had been on the personal staff of his poisoned brother, escaped from Ghaznīn and returned to Firūzkoh. There he collected large hosts and along with his younger brothers Bahāu'd-Dīn Sām and 'Alāu'd-Dīn Huṣain he started for Ghaznīn to avenge the death of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad. When Bahrām Shah heard this news he fled[2] to Karmān,[3] a place between Ghaznīn and India but in the dependency of Ghaznīn itself. So, without any encounter, they occupied the capital in Jumāda I, 543 (September 1148).[4] Then Saifu'd-Dīn Sūrī occupied the capital under the title of "Sulṭan,"—the first Ghorid to assume such a title.

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1. In the India Office MS., No. 931, Sayyid Ḥasan's verses have "Shūrī" instead of "Sūri; so also in Ibn khaldūn (*ibid.*).

2. The writer of Subh-i-Sādiq (Bkp. MS., vol. III, f. 1112b) says that Bahrām had gone to India when (in his absence) Sūrī occupied Ghaznīn.

3. The writer of Mu'jamu'l-Buldān (vol. IV, p. 266) says :—

"كرمان ايضاً مدينة بين غزنه و بلاد الهند من اعمال غزنه بينها اربعة ايام او نحوها" ـ

In Elliot's History, vol. II, p. 221, the footnote reads :—
"(This) *Karman* is in the Bangash country, *between Kabul and Banu*".

It was, however, inhabited by the Afghāns, as Firishta (p. 50) and Ibn-Athīr (vol. XI, p. 62) say.

4. For these dates and details see Ibn-Athīr (vol. XI, p. 51) and Firishta (pp. 50, 55) respectively.

XI

Recapture of Ghaznin by Bahram

When Sūrī found himself secure on the throne of Ghaznīn, he sent back his younger brothers and faithful courtiers to Fīrūzkoh. He treated the people of Ghaznīn with consideration and trusted them, but they, on the other hand, did not like him occupying place of their own old ruler Bahrām. In this connection we give here a summary of the statement given in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Raverty, pp. 440-445):—

When storms of snow and excessive cold set in, and the roads and passes of Ghūr were blocked by snow[1] and the people of Ghaznīn were aware that it was impossible for the troops or succour to reach Ghaznīn from the side of Ghūr, they despatched letters, secretly to Bahrām Shāh, saying, "throughout the entire city and parts around, only a handful of the forces[2] of Ghūr remained with Sūrī, the remaining are the servants of the Maḥmūdī dynasty. It behoveth the Sultān (Bahrām) not to let the opportunity slip and he should repair to Ghaznīn with all possible haste." Bahrām Shāh, accordingly, marched from the side of India (Karmān) and unexpectedly made a night attack upon Sūrī, who, along with his vizier Sayyid Majdu'd-Dīn Mūsawi and a few Ghurides, fled away, till he was captured in the precincts of Sang-i-Sūrākh (the Perforated Rock—near the Helmand river) after a short encounter. After all possible insults Sūrī and his vizier were gibbeted at Pul-i-Yak Ṭāq (the One-Arch Bridge) and hung therefrom.

Here we quote verses from a panegyric of Sayyid Hasan giving some very important and hitherto unknown details about this event :—

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1. This victory, as we shall know, was effected on the 12th May, 1149, when no snow was expected to have been near Ghaznīn, though it might have been towards Ghūr, because of its very high altitude.

2. From the Rauḍatu'ṣ Ṣafā (IV, 211) we know that Sūrī had then three hundred people of Ghūr and one thousand Ghuzz cavalry with him and that Bahram could persuade the latter to give up his enemy's side.

سزد گر جبرئیل آید برین فیروزه گون منبر
کند آفاق را خطبه بنام شاه دین پرور
خداوند جهان بهرام شه آن شه کزین فتحش
دل خورشید شد روشن تن افلاک پر زیور
برائے و روے سپهر و مه بتاج و چتر روز و شب
بلطف و قهر نیک و بد ببزم و رزم نفع و ضر
روم از مدح شاهنشه که باقی ماند در دولت
بذکر شوریٔ فتان که خاکش باد خاکستر

چو از خورشید جود شاه روشن گشت کار او
ز دونی غره شد یعنی که خود هستم مه انور
به خلق و خلق زشت و بد به خورد و زیست دام و دد
به اصل و ذات دون و رد به قول و فعل شور و شر
چو پیش شاه دیدندش بر آمد نعره از عالم
که هے هے این چه تاریکی ست پیش نور جرم خور
شهنشه گفت نی نی نی چو این فتنه گذشت از حد
کنم این فتنه را ساکن دهم این بے خرد را خر
بحمد الله چو طالع شد، کشیده تیغ از مشرق
سپر جمله بیفگندند نه مه ماند و نه اختر
به غزنین گرچه اندر طشت خون آمد جهان گفتش
فدائے شاه خواهی شد چو گاو این یک دو مه اے خر
فرشته کرد پنداری هزاران دیو را فرمان
که باز آمد به تخت ملک سلطان سلیمان فر
که شد عالی بفرش باز قصر ملک و فرح دین

ز بهر دفع چشم بد فرو آویخت دو پیکر
دو پیکر گشته آویزان ز عالی کنگرهٔ میدان
بران جمله که از گردون نماید برج دو پیکر
دوم روز محرم سال بر ث م د الحق
بر آمد نامور فتحے کزان گویند تا محشر
تعالی الله چه ساعت بود کامد شاه در کابل
خدایش حافظ و ناصر سپهرش مخلص و یاور
چو سرکز شاه در قلب و قوی بازوے اقبالش
به سه فرزند شایسته چو دو قطب و یکے محور

گل باغ جهانداری سما' الدوله مسعود آن
کش از آرایش خبر بشارت می دهد منظر
مه چرخ خداوندی معزالدوله خسرو شه
که لرزان ست از گرزش عمود صبح روشنگر
در بحر شهنشاهی معین الدوله شاهنشه
که بست از گوهر پاکش عروس مملکت زیور
وزیر عالم عادل، سفیر کامل مقبل
که بتوان یافت از هر دو نشان نام پیغمبر
بگرد شاه فوجا فوج لشکر هائے هندستان
که گوئی ذرهٔ خورشید بر جوشید از خاور
سپه سالار غازی شان علی بوسهل شیر اوژن
که دادش دولت سلطان تن رستم دل حیدر
سپاه غور هم کو راست خواهی با همه کری
چو آتش تیزه زن بودند هم چون آب جوشن ور
روان گردند سوے غور گوئی خصم ایشان شد
خداو خلق و کوه و دشت و سنگ و خار و بحر و بر
چنان راندند جوے خون که تا صد سال در بستان
چو شاخ سرخ بید آید بگونه برگ سیسنبر
ز مدح او و فتح او که هست آن بلبل و این گل
چمد طبع معزّی و بنازد جان اسکندر[1]

These twenty-six verses cotain the following important points:

(*a*) The 11th and 15th verses show that Bahram Shah, who had gone towards India and stayed at Karmān—a place between Kābul and Banū—came back *via* Kabul to re-occupy Ghaznīn.

(*b*) From the verses 21 and 22, it is evident that Bahrām Shah had at hand the Indian armies, whose commander-in-chief was 'Alī Abū Sihl and not Husain b. Ibrāhīm 'Alawī, as Ibn-Ahthīr (vol. XI, p. 51) and Ibn-Khaldūn (Tr. vol. XIII, p. 2) say.

(*c*) We understand from the verses 16-19 that Bahrām Shāh was in the centre of the army and his three sons

1. India Office MS., No. 931, ff. 72a-75a.

(1) Samāu'd-Daula Mas'ūd, (2) Mui'zzu'd-Daula Khusrau Shāh, and (3) Mu'īnu'd Daula Shāhir shāh were commanding various regiments. The poet praises Khusrau Shāh for mace-wielding (verse 18), although we know from the *Adabu'l-Harb* (p. 34) that he was skilled in spear and arrow. His title "Mu'izzu'd-Daula" is certainly more authentic than "Mu'īnu'd-Daula" (as given in the *Tabaqat*[1]—Raverty, p. 111 l. 15) or "Zahīru'd-Daula" (as given by *Firishta*, p. 52).

(*d*) In the 20th verse a reference is made to Bahrām's (1) vizier and (2) ambassador, whose names, as the poet says and as we shall see later, remind him of those of the Holy Prophet.

(*e*) If it is not an exaggeration, it is to be believed that Saifu'd-Dīn Sūrī was paraded round the city of Ghaznīn on an *ass*, as the 8th verse shows and not on a mule, as Professor Browne says in his "Literary History of Persia," vol. II, p. 306.

(*f*) From the 12th and 13th verses it is clear that the two bodies (*i.e.*, of Sūrī and his vizier Sayyid Majdu'd-Dīn Mūsawī[2] were gibbeted on an arch. The same poet again refers to it in a quatrain :—

خوشنود ز بهرام روان محمود   می نازد ازو به خلد جان محمود
دگر گشت نگار حلق شوری چه عجب   شوم است خلاف خاندان محمود

(*g*) The most important point is the exact date of this victory given in the 14th verse, *i.e.*, the 2nd of Muharram {ث + م + د / ۵۰۰ + ۴۰ + ۴}[4], A.H. 544 (Thursday, the 12th of May,

1. But on the same page, in line 12, it is Mu'izzu'd-Daula. *Cf.* Ādābu'l-Harb, p. 52.

2. Ibn-Athīr (XI, p. 51) calls him Sayyid Māhiyānī. In Muḥammad Yūsuf's Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh (Bkp. MS., f. 318a) he is named as Sayyid Majdu'd-Dīn Mūsā and he is said to have been seated on a camel.

3. British Museum MS. No. 4514, f. 133 b.

4. Ibn-Athīr (XI. p. 51), Ibn Khaldūn (Tr. XIII, p. 2) and the writer of Subb-i-Sadiq (III, f. 1112 b) give this date as muharram 544, but the exact date is not given in any history known so far. This day, according to the calendar, is Thursday, but it might have been possibly a Friday. Sayyid Ḥasan, who gives this date was himself present at Ghaznīn on this occasion. From Lubābu'l-Altāb (II, 287) we know that he had been amongst the grandees of the court of Sūrī and when he was captured by Bahrām at this time and was to be punished by him, he improvised this quatrain :—

آن که فلک به پیش تیغت ناید   بخشش بجز از کف چو میغت ناید
زخم تو که پیل کوه پیکر نه کشد   بر پشه همی زنی دریغت ناید

Bahrām then forgave and made him one of his courtiers.

1149). This exact day and date is not found in any history known so far.[1]

When Sūrī was hanged his head was sent by Bahrām Shāh to Sultān Sanjar who had then been at Ray with his nephew Mas'ūd[2] b. Muhammad b. Malik Shāh (d. Rajab 1, 547/October 13, 1152). On this occasion Fakhru'd-Dīn Khālid of Herat, a great Rubā'ī-writer and a friend of Sanjar, composed[3] the following quatrain :—

آنها که بخدمتت نفاق آوردند   سر جمله عمر خویش طاق آوردند
دور از سر تو سام پسر سام بمرد   و اینک سر سوری به عراق آوردند

In this quataian "Sām" to whom allusion is made was Bahāu'd-Dīn Sām, the brother of Sūrī and the father of Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī, the famous invader of India. This Bahau'-Din Sam, who started to avenge his "martyred" brothers Quṭbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad and Ṣaifu'd-Dīn Sūrī

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1. The date of this occasion as given in the Rāḥatu's-Sudūr (pp. 174-175) is 543, Sha'bān December, 1148) which must be wrong, because the poet Sayyid Ḥasan could personally witness the murder of Sūrī in 544/1149 and it was then only that Sūrī's head could be sent to Sanjar at Ray. The writer of the Rāhatu'ṣ Ṣudūr (pp. 175-176) further commits a mistake in saying that Sanjar fought with 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ghūrī *one year after* the murder of Sūrī (i.e., according to him, in 544/1149), because Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī, who was himself present in this battle, gives its date as 547/1152 in the last stories of his 3rd and 4th Maqālas. Faṣīḥī also gives this date in his Mujmal. See also Raverty's note on p. 348 of the Ṭabaqāt.

2. An elegy on his death was written by Sayyid Ḥasan in the form of a tarjī'-band and its "repeated verse" is :—

شاه فرشته سیرت مسعود در گذشت
همچون فرشته از سر افلاک بر گذشت

The writer of Subḥ-i-Ṣādiq (III, f. 1020 b) has been mistaken in thinking that this elegy had been written by that poet on the death of Mas'ūd III of Ghaznin.

3. India Office Catalogue of Persian MSS. II, p. 1070. It is only in the Rāḥatu'ṣ-Sudūr (p. 175) that this quatrain has been assigned to the poet Farīd-i-Kātib, otherwise the following histories show that it belonged to Khālid :—

Tārīkh-i-Guzīda (Habībganj) ; Rauḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafā (IV, p. 112) ; Khulāsatu'l-Akhbār (f. 218 b) ; Haft-Iqlīm, lines 16-17 of f. 247 b (of No. 724 in Ethe's Catalogue of India Office I, p. 423).

(apparently just on hearing of the murder of the latter), died[1] of small-pox at Kīdār—a place in the territory of Ghūr—on his way to Ghaznīn.

1. For these details see Firishta (p. 55) and Raverty's Tabaqāt (pp. 347-350). Raverty, in his note on p. 348, adds that Sām, having seated Sūrī on the throne of Ghaznīn, was on his way back to Ghūr when he died of inflammation of the brain (frenzy, according to some, a tumour or small-pox, according to others). I think he died in the same year when Sūrī was killed, *i.e.*, in 544/1149, because the quatrain, just cited above, shows that Sūrī's murder was followed soon by the death of this Sām. Hence the year 545 (1150), given in the روضة الطاهرين (Bkp. MS., f. 163 b.) is not correct.

XII

Second Capture of Ghaznin by the Ghorids

On the death of Bahau'd-Din Sam his younger brother, Alaud-Din Husain (later known as "Jahan-Suz" or the "Brulemonde") ascended the throne of Ghur. He now thought of wreaking vengeance on Ghaznin. He composed a quatrain, which runs as follows:—

اعضاے ممالک جہان را بدہم　　جویندۂ خصم خویش و لشکر شکنم
اگر غزنین را زبیخ و بن بر نہ کنم　　پس من نہ حسین ابن حسین حسنم

With a firm determination he began to collect large armies from Ghur and Ghurjistan and made all possible preparations. When he heard of his intention, Bahram Shah, too, began to collect large hosts both from Ghaznin and from India.[2] At length 'Alau'd-Din Husain moved from Ghur and Bahram Shah led his troops through the district of Garmsir by way of Rukh-khaj (Arachosia) and Tikinabad and came to Zamin-i-Dawar.[3] There 'Alau'd-Din

1. Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq (III, f. 1112 b.) In Yūsuf's Muntakhab (f. 318 a) the second hemistich is ع من خود نہ حسین ابن حسین حسنم. But the whole quatrain could be found in احوال و آثار حکیم سنائی (Kabul, 1315), p. 52.

2. Although no history records that at this time Indian princes helped Bahrām, yet a verse from a poem by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ghūrī on his subsequent victory says so, but I think the Indian forces, at least, were with Bahrām. The verse is:

پشتی خصم گرچہ ہمہ رائے و رانا بود
کردم بہ گرز خرد سر رائے و رانا را

3. Elliot's history, vol. II. Garmsir—a narrow tract of country in Sīstān along the lower course of the Hindmand (Helmand) Rukhkhaj—a dependency of Sīstān, situated on the Helmand (p. 578). (Raverty says on p. 350 n that it is a small tract of country in the district of Bust). Tikīnābād is a large city of Garmsir, between Ghaznīn and Ghūr (p. 578), and Dāwar is on the right bank of the Helmand, 40 to 50 miles to its west (p. 576). Firishta (page 55 l. 18) says that Dāwar is in the precincts of Ghūr and a dependency of Qandhār.

Husain had already reached. So Bahrām despatched envoys to him saying, "Go back to Ghūr and be content with your ancestral possessions; you have not the strength to resist my forces, because I have brought 200 war-elephants and thousands of cavalry." And 'Alau'd-Dīn's reply was, "If you have brought elephants (fīls), I have brought the kharfīls (being the two warriors of Ghūr, خر فیل سام حسین the father of ملک ناصرالدین حسین خر فیل, and another (خر فیل سام بنجی; but God knows, indeed, you are in the wrong in that you have put my two brothers to death, and I have not slain any person belonging to you. But have you not heard, what the Almighty God says (Qur'an, Banī Isrāil, 33)?

ومن قتل مظلوماً فقد جعلنا لولیه سلطانا فلا یسرف فی القتل انه کان منصوراً۔

'And if any one is slain wrongfully, We have given his heir authority (to demand qiṣāṣ or to forgive); but let him not exceed the bounds in the matter of taking life; (for) he is helped.'"

When the envoys returned, both the armies prepared themselves for the battle. 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain called unto him the two pahlawāns (the above-mentioned kharfīls), who were famous in Ghūr for their extraordinary valour and prowess, and said to them, "Bahrām Shāh had sent a message, saying that he would bring elephants against us and I have replied that if he brought elephants (fīls) I would bring the kharfīls. This day you must each knock down an elephant." They both kissed the ground and retired to their posts; and, at a place Korāh-bāz, the two armies were drawn up. When the battle began, both these warriors dismounted, fastened up the skirts of their coats-of-mail, and entered the fight. When the elephants of Bahrām Shāh made a charge, each of the warriors attacked an elephant; and creeping under the armour of the animals, ripped open their bellies with knives. Kharfīl-Sām-Banjī remained under his elephant, who rolled upon him, till both perished together. Kharfīl-Sām-Husain knocked down his elephant to the ground, extricated himself and mounted his horse again.

When 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain had put on the armour and was ready for the fight, he sent for a surcoat of red satin, which he put over his armour. When he was asked why he

did so, he said that it was to prevent his men seeing his blood and thus feeling discouraged in the event of his being wounded.

It was the practice in the armies of Ghūr for the infantry to protect themselves in battle with a covering, called 'Karoh,' made of a raw hide, covered thickly on both sides with wool or cotton This defensive covering used by the Ghorids in this battle, protected them like a wall, as no weapon could pierce it.

After the battle had begun, Daulat Shāh, the eldest son of Bahrām Shāh, with a body of cavalry and an elephant charged the centre. 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain instructed his foot-soldiers to open their rank of 'Karohs,' till Daulat Shāh and his retinue were surrounded on all sides and were all slain. When this great warrior of the age, as the writer of the *Subh-i-Ṣadiq* (III, f. 1113a) calls him, was killed, the army of Bahrām Shāh fell into disorder and gave way. Even Bahrām Shāh could not withstand this great shock and failed to keep his ground. 'Alāu'd-Dīn then persued him from stage to stage, as far as a place known as Josh-i-Āb-i Garm[1] (the jet of hot water), near Tikīnābād, where Bahrām Shāh collected his forces and for a second time gave battle, but was again defeated and put to flight, and only stopped at the gate of Ghaznīn. 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain followed him in hot pursuit and at Ghaznīn, Bahrām Shāh was defeated for the third time. This defeat, at last, totally shattered the strength of Bahrām Shāh, who had then no alternative but to get back to India.

1. *Cf.* Daulat Shāh's biography (Browne's edition, p. 75), recording در کنار آب باران , *cf.* also Enc. Britannica (XI, ed. XI, p. 918), which says that the battle was fought "on the bank of the Helmand," referring to the first encounter.

XIII

Plunder of Ghaznin

The writer of the Tabaqāt-ī-Nasīrī further adds that 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain then burnt the whole city of Ghaznīn, for seven days,[1] and from the blackness of the smoke all these days appeared as black as night; and from the flames raging in the burning city, nights appeared bright like the day. Plunder and massacre went on, till all the men that were found were killed, and the women and children were made captives. He then ordered that the remains of the Maḥmūdi Sulṭāns should be taken out of their graves and burnt, except those of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Mas'ūd and Ibrāhīm. Nizāmī 'Arūdi, the court-poet of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain, also refers (second Maqāla, first Story) to the fact, though with a slight difference :—

"... و خداوند عالم علاء الدنیا والدین ابو علی الحسین بن الحسین اختیار امیر المومنین، که زندگانیش دراز باد و چتر دولتش منصور، به کین خواستن آن دو ملک شهریار شهید و ملک حمید به غزنین رفت و سلطان بهرام شاه از پیش او برفت[2] بر درد آن دو شهید که استخفا تها کرده بودند و گزافها گفته، شهر غزنین را غارت فرمود و عمارات محمودی و مسعودی و ابراهیمی خراب کرد..."

On the eighth night (preceding the day) when the city was entirely desolated and burnt to ashes its inhabitants were massacred. 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain improvised the following verses in his own praise, which he gave to the minstrels to set to music and sing before him :—

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1. The writers of Ṣubh i-Ṣādiq (III, f. 1113a), Nigāristān (Bkp. MS, p. 234), etc., say that this plunder and devastation continued for *seven days and nights* incessantly, but Ibn-Athīr (XI, p. 62, as followed by Browne also in his vol. II, p. 306) records *three* days only.

2. Prof. Browne's statement (vol. II, p. 306) that Bahrām Shāh had, by this time, died *three years back*, is not correct, in view of the fact that a court-poet cannot forget such an important event of his patron's career.

جهان داند که من شاه جهانم　　چراغ دودهٔ عباسیانم
علاءالدین حسین ابن حسینم　　که دائم باد ملک خاندانم
چو بر گلگون دولت بر نشینم　　یکی باشد زمین و آسمانم
امل مقرع زن گرد سپاهم　　اجل بازی گر نوک سنانم
همه عالم بگر دم چون سکندر　　به هر شهرے شہے دیگر نشانم
بر آن بودم که از او باش غزنین　　چو رود نیل جوے خون روانم
ولیکن گنده پیرانند و طفلان　　شفاعت می کند بخت جوانم
ببخشیدم به یشان جان ایشان　　که بادا جان شان پیوند جانم[1]

In the second hemistich the Brulemonde refers to his direct descent from 'Abbas (the fourth ancestor), whose uncle Abū 'Alī (and not father) had the proud recognition by Maḥmūd Ghaznawī in the vassalage of Ghūr. The sixth and seventh verses show that he ('Alāu'd-Dīn) wanted to start a river of blood by killing the 'wicked people,' of Ghaznīn, but as they were '(as timid as) old women and children' he pardoned them. This shows that the historians, who have narrated the seven days' conflagration of Ghaznīn and the wholesale massacre of its people, have greatly exaggerated, if not told a lie. The last hemistich, very beautifully, hints at 'Alāu'd-Dīn's soft heart, which had been cruel merely at the brutal murders of his two elder brothers.

After the recitation of the above verses 'Alau'd-Dīn Husain said, "I have now spared the remaining people of Ghaznīn," and he left the company and took a hot-bath. On the morning of the eighth day he led the nobles and the troops of Ghūr to the graves of his two "martyred" brothers, where he put on garments of mourning, together with his whole army, and he remained there seven nights and days, observing funeral ceremonies, making offerings, saying requiem and having the holy Qur'ān recited. He then had the coffins of his brothers placed on biers, and marched with them from Ghaznīn towards Dāwar and Bust. On reaching Bust he ordered destruction of the palaces and other edifices of the Maḥmūdī kings,[2] "which had no equal in the world,"

1. With slight variants these verses are found in the Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī (Bkp. MS., f. 189b); Yūsuf's Muntakhab (Bkp., f. 318a); Lubāb, I, 38-39; etc.

2. Remnants of some edifices still exist in Ghaznīn, and Mas'ūd III's pillar deserves note.

and thus devastated all the territory belonging to that great dynasty. Nizāmī 'Arūḍī (second Maqāla, first Story) also says :—

بسا کاخا که محمودش بنا کرد   که از رفعت همی با مه مرا کرد
نه بینی زان همه یک خشت بر پائے   مدیح عنصری مانده ست بر جاے

In spite of such destruction of Maḥmūdī edifices, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain is reported to have bought with gold the poems[1] written in praise of Maḥmūd and of his dynasty and he would himself read that passage of Shāhnāma (*Cf.* Nizāmī 'Arūḍī, *ibid.*), which is as follows :—

چو کودک لب از شیر مادر بشست   ز گہوارہ محمود گوید نخست
به تن زنده پیل و به جان جبرئیل   به کف ابر بهمن به دل رود نیل
جہان دار محمود شاہ بزرگ   به آبش خور آرد همی میش و گرگ

He ordered several 'Sayyids' of Ghaznīn to be seized, according to the law of qiṣāṣ (retaliation), at the place of Sayyid Majdu'd-Dīn Mūsawī, who was Sūrī's vizier and was hung on one of the arches of Ghaznīn along with Sūrī. They were brought before the Sulṭān. Bags were filled with the earth of Ghaznīn, and placed upon the backs of the 'Sayyids,' who were then sent to the capital Fīrūzkoh and were slain. Their blood was mixed with that earth which they had brought, and of the mortar, which was thus formed, several towers were erected on the hills of Fīrūzkoh.

After 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain had wreaked such a terrible vengeance and returned to the capital of Ghūr, he improvised the following lines and gave them to the minstrels to sing them on their harps and violins :—

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1. In spite of his love for literature a great treasure of books was burnt on this occasion, as we find in Ibn-Athīr (Browne, II 107n) :—

"When 'Alā'ud Dawla bin Kākūya, the Buwahid prince of Isfahān was defeated by the troops of Ghazna, in 425/1033, Avicenna's books were carried off by them as part of their plunder, and were placed in one of the libraries of Ghazna, where they remained, until they were destroyed by fire in the sack of that city by Ḥusain, the Jahān-Sūz." From Baihaqi's Tatimma (Persian, Lahore 1939, p. 45) we know that one book of Avicenna was preserved in the library of Mas'ūd I at Ghaznīn, but was later burnt to ashes by the Ghuzz army in A.H. 546 at the instigation of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain of Ghūr.

آنم که هست فخر ز عدلم زمانه را
آنم که هست چون زر بذلم زبانه را
انگشت دست خویش به دندان کند عدو
چون برزه کمان نهم انگشترانه را
چون گرد خانه مکینم میان صف
دشمن ز کوے باز بدانست خانه را
بهرام شه به کینهٔ من چون کمان کشید
کندم به کینه از کمر او کنانه را
پشتی خصم اگرچه همه راے و رانا بود
کردم به گرز خرد سر راے و رانا را
کین توختن به تیغ در آموختم کنون
شاهان روزگار و ملوک زمانه را
اے مطرب بدیع چو فارغ شدم ز جنگ
بر گوے قول را و بیار آن ترانه زا
[1]دولت چو بر کشید نشاید فرو گذاشت
قول مغنی و مئے صاف مغانه را

From the above lines the following points are gathered :—

(*a*) The seventh verse shows that this poem was composed after the battle was over.

(*b*) The fourth verse clearly says that this battle was fought against Bahrām Shāh and *not* against his son Khusrau Shāh, as several writers have stated, *e.g.*, Professor Browne (vol. II, p. 306) *Hadiqatu's-Safa* (Bkp. MS., f. 229b), *Tarikh-i-Sadr-i-Jahan* (Bkp., MS., f. 281n.) *Tarikh-i-Abu'l-Khair Khani* (Bkp., MS., f. 115n.), *Mir'atu'l-'Alam* (Bkp., MS., f. 109n.) etc.

(*c*) Although no history records that the Indian princes (rānas) themselves came to the help of Bahrām Shāh, yet the fifth verse suggests it and there is no doubt that at least the Indian forces were with him.

1. For the accounts of the second recapture of Ghaznīn, right up to this point, I have followed the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī (Bkp. MS., ff. 187b 190a). Raverty (pp. 350-356), Elliot (vol. II, pp. 286-289), Ṣubh-i-Ṣādiq (vol. III, ff. 1112b-1113b), Yūsu'f's Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh (f. 3198ab), etc.
The last verse of the poem, above cited, seems to belong to some other poet or poem.

We now summarise here, from the *Adabu'l-Harb*, some facts and after-effects, relating to this war :—

When 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Ghūrī marched towards Ghaznīn and Bahrām Shāh fled towards India (taking all the nobles and grandees of his court with him), the former put to death over *sixty thousand Muslims*, men and women, by different kinds of tortures, such as flagellation wounding, burning and placing on the rack. He took away, from them,' whatever they possessed, so that they all became destitute. Matters came to such a pass that all those who used to wear brocade before, now began to wear felt and skins. Eventually, Alāu'd-Dīn Husain went back to Ghūr, leaving behind, at Ghaznīn, an army-commander Amīr Khān, a very cruel man, with five thousand horses. He had been instructed to burn and devastate the whole city of Ghaznīn to such an extent that a passer-by could note merely some signs of its probable existence in some remote times.

This Amīr Khān invited all the imāms, judges and notables of the city and communicated to them the orders of the king, and told them to take their wives and children out of the city.

"There is no one in the city," they said, "who has a complete suit of clothes. All the women and children are entirely deprived of clothes and have not got even footwear. If they spend a night out of their homes, they are *sure to freeze to death*." They then requested him to give them one week in order to get some necessary provisions for the same, but he granted them only *three* days' time. In such utter helplessness they proceeded, one morning, to a miracle-working saint, namely, Khwāja Abu'l-Muyyad and told him all about their miseries.

This holy man had a pupil called Imām Aḥmad Khayyāt (the tailor), whom he said, "Go under yonder mulberry tree and bring a new potsherd and a piece of charcoal." The pupil did accordingly, then the Khwāja made a mark on that potsherd with the charcoal, the meaning of which he alone knew. He then said to the pupil, "I want you to set out at once for Gardīz (a town in the Ghaznīn territory) to the tomb of the Shaikhu'l-Islām Qa:hūr (?). But you must make

ablutions first, then pray two 'rak'ats,' and entering the mausoleum, visit the tomb, and after conveying my greetings hold this potsherd towards the tomb. Then wait and see." The pupil started, and on account of his miraculous intervention, God so shortened the rough road, nine leagues long, *covered with deadly snow* that he reached Gardīz, *in the short winter days*, between the time of two prayers. He then did as was desired by the spiritual master, and to his astonishment, he saw that the Shaikhu'l-Islām Qashūr (?) came out of his grave and said to him, "On you also be peace and mercy of God! Give my greetings to the Khwāja Abu'l-Muyyad and tell him that the wickedness of these tyrants has been averted and the people have been set free from their trouble. God has heard the lamentations of the Muslims." Saying this he went back into his grave, which closed over him as before.

When the pupil saw all this, he swooned and lost all consciousness, and remained in that state till the time of the evening prayer............................ After a while he came to his senses, but set out for Ghaznīn only on the next day and reached there at the time of the afternoon prayer. He related to the Khwāja Abu'l-Muyyad all that had happened, and the latter thanked God.

After a while the noise of the beatings of the drums was heard by the citizens, who went upon the roofs of their houses to see what the matter was. They saw that the whole plain, round about, was full of horsemen, flags and different kinds of ornamented cloth. They were surprised at what they saw. The tyrant Amīr Khān (the commander of the Ghurid army at Ghaznīn) was so much terrified that he rode on his horse bare-footed and his men left their tents, baggage, furniture and cauldrons as they were, and fled in such haste that no one knew where they had gone. It was only on the following day that the citizens came to know of their flight.[1]

1. Up to this sentence I have followed the Ādābu'l-Ḥarb (pp. 48-51) and particularly its English translation in the *Islamic Culture*, April 1938 pp. 227-229.

Now we come to the accounts of Bahrām Shāh after his defeat at and subsequent flight from Ghaznīn. Daulat Shāh, in his biography (Browne's edition, pp. 75-76), narrates an interesting story in connection with Bahrām Shāh's defeat :—

In spite of having had two hundred war-elephants when Bahram Shāh was defeated on the bank of Āb-i-Barān (on the Helmand ?) by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain, he fled to the ruins of a village in order to pass that night of *severe cold*. There he found a villager, of whom he asked for some food. The villager brought a few pieces of unleavened bread and some پودنه (mint or quail)[1] After having taken this scanty food the Sulṭan asked him to supply him with some bedding, then he said, "O (brave) man, I have nothing but a housing. If you allow me I shall put it over you." The Sulṭan exclaimed, "Why did you, wretch, tell me its name ? Now, make haste and put it over me.'" The villager, from the appearance of the Sulṭān, could understand, who he was. So the next morning he asked him to let him know whether he was the king. When he replied in the affirmative, the man wept bitterly and kissed the ground before the Sultān,

1. This story has been assigned by Daulat Shāh to the time (543/1148) when Bahrām Shāh first fled to India, after being defeated by the combined forces of Sūrī and his brother 'Alāu'd-Dīn and when subsequently Sūrī sat on the throne of Ghaznīn. But I think this story refers to the time of this second war, which was fought by 'Alāu'd-Dīn in revenge of his second brother Sūrī's murder as well. The reasons are :—(*a*) The two hundred war-elephants, as mentioned above, were with Bahrām Shāh, only at the time of the second attack by the Ghurids . (*b*) No actual battle is reported to have been fought when Sūrī advanced from Ghūr in 543/1148, hence the war, referred to in the above story, would belong to the second capture of Ghaznīn in revenge of Sūrī's murder. (*c*) This story shows that when Bahrām fled to India, 'Alāu'd-Dīn *plundered* Ghaznīn and gave it to his brother Sūrī. The actual words of Daulat Shāh are :—
و علاء الدين غزنين را بعد از ان كه قتل و غارت كرده بود به برادر داد ,—But history shows that when Sūrī was enthroned at Ghaznīn) the city was not plundered then. Hence this story would relate to the second capture. (*d*) Daulat Shāh records that it was the time of *severe cold* when Bahrām sought the help of that villager. The first capture of Ghaznīn was, as we have seen above, effected in Jumādā I, 543/*September* 1148, and *not at the time of severe cold*, while the second capture was really in the season of extreme cold, as we have seen in the Ādābu'l-Ḥarb as well. Hence this story should relate to the second capture.

saying, "O Lord of the people of the world, how was it that Your Majesty was defeated by the ill-born Ghorid ('Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain), in spite of the fact that you had great awe, strength, a brave army and war-elephants ?" The Sulṭān then asked the villager to hold up his spade, which he shot with his royal arrow so forcefully that even its tail-end passed through it and struck the ground. Then he smiled and said to the villager, زخم این است اما بخت رو گردان است (such is my blow, but luck is wanting). The Sulṭān then fled towards India and 'Alaud-Dīn Ḥusain plundered the city of Ghaznīn.

1. Similar words are said to have been uttered by Mas'ūd I (d. 440/1042), the great-grandfather of Bahrām, on his desperate attack on the rushing army of Tughril (d. 455/1063). See the Rāhatu'ṣ-Ṣudūr or its summary in J.R.A.S., July, 1902, p. 591.

1. The detailed accounts of this prince and his father may be found in the Tabaqāt (Raverty, pp. 422-428). For his joining war see the Chahār Maqāla last story of the third Discourse) and Mujmal-i-Fasihi (Bkp. MS., 166 b). The actual words in the original copy of the Rāhatu'ṣ-Sudūr were—

ملکی غور الحسین بن الحسین خروج کرد بکین توختن برادر زاده و علی چتری که امیر حاجب سلطان بود

Dr. M. Iqbāl, in his edition (p. 176) has dropped زاده after برادر, but I think it would be more desirable if we add با before برادر زاده of the original copy.

XIV

The Date of the Plunder of Ghaznin

There are many controversial points about (*a*) the date of the above battle and also about (*b*) the Ghaznavid ruler with whom 'Alaud'Dīn Husain had fought. Even Professor Browne (vol. II, p. 306), who had probably followed Ibn-Athīr (XI, 62), says that this "terrible retribution was exacted by Alaud-Din Husain in A.D. 1155 (A.H. 550), *three years after Bahram Shah had died* and been succeeded by his son Khusrau Shah." Like him there are several other historians and biographers as well, who say that Bahrām Shāh had died by that time, but we do not want to mention them unnecessarily, in view of the fact that Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī, the court-poet of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain (note 2, p. 56), and even the latter (note 1, p. 59) have clearly said that it was Bahrām Shāh himself with whom the second engagement had been undertaken. So, we come to the second point, *i.e.*, the date of this plunder. Professor Browne gives its date as A.D. 1155 (A.H. 550), but it is wrong, because :—

From the *Rahatu's-Sudur* (p. 176) we understand that Alāu'd-Dīn Husain, after he had wreaked vengeance at Ghaznīn, marched against Sanjar to take revenge from him as well, probably because he had directly or indirectly helped (if not so, then at least favoured) Bahrām Shāh for the cruel murder of Sūrī, whose head was subsequently sent to Sanjar's court. 'Alau'd-Dīn Ḥusain was joined by his brother's son Shamsu'd-Din Muḥammad[2] b. Fakhru'd-Dīn Mas'ud b.

Izzu'd-Din Ḥusain, the Bāmiyānī ruler (died after 586/1190), and 'Alī Chatrī, who had been raised by Sanjar from the post of a court-jester to be his chamberlain and been given lands in fiefhold about Herat. Sanjar also marched out and the battle[1] was fought at Awba, a place near Herat. 'Alau'd-Dīn was taken captive and released just before[2] Sanjar's fight with the Gh zz Turks by 548/1153 ; Shamsu'd-Din

1. For the details of this battle see the Tabaqāt, (Raverty, pp. 358-360).

2. The anecdote related in the Tabaqāt (Raverty, p. 361), Subh-i-Ṣādiq (vol. III, f. 1114), etc. clearly shows that 'Alāu'd-Dīn was *released just before* Sanjar's fight with the Ghuzz Turks. Mujmal-i-Faṣiḥī (Bkp., f. 166 b-167a) contains another idcident that when 'Alāu'd-Dīn improvised these lines before Sanjar—

بگرفت و نکشت شه مرا در صف کین
با آن که بدم کشتنی ازروے یقین
وان که بطبق می دهدم در ثمین
بخشایش و بخشش چنان کردو چنین

Anwarī composed this quatrain :

چون بندگئی شهت نمی آید خوش
با ملک آب و دولتے چون آتش
برخیز و بسیچ آن جهان کن خوش خوش
وان جا علف و گلخن دوزخ می کش

'Alāu'd-Dīn was much annoyed, so when Sanjar had died, he invited Anwarī to his court through the latter's friend Fakhru'd-Dīn Khālid who wrote also a separate letter to Anwarī, containing these verses :—

ای آن که در هنر به همه جارسیده ای
نیک و بد زمانهٔ عیار دیده ای
اصلت زقاین ست و نشستت به کوشکک
دانم که نیم بیت دگر را شنیده ای

Browne (vol. II, p, 381) records that he had sent three Arabic verses. Anwarī, however, understood that it was unwise for him to go to 'Alāu'd-Dīn, whom he then sent a fragment beginning with :

کلبه اے کاندرو بروز و بشب
جاے آرام و خورد و خواب من است
نیست من بنده را زبان جواب
جامه و جاے من جواب من است
حضرت پادشه که باقی ماند
نه به بازوئے خاك و آب من است

Muḥammad was released on paying 50,000 dinars; but 'Alī Chatrī, being an unfaithful servant of Sanjar, was sawn into two under the royal standard.[1] The date of this defeat, as is inferred from the *Rahatu's-Sudur* (p. 176), was 544/1149, but this must be wrong, because Nizāmī 'Arūḍi, *who was himself present in that war*, gives its date (*vide* the last stories of his third and fourth Maqalas) as 547/1152. Hence the plunder of Ghaznin, which had been prior to this defeat, must have occurred before that date.

From the *Raudatu't-Tahirin* (Bkp. MS., f. 163 a) we know that this plunder took place in 545/1150, *i.e.*, one year after the cruel murder of Sūrī. So, in order to fix its most probable time in that year we have to consider some points here.

Ibn-Athīr (XI, 57) says that it was in this year (545/1150) that 'Alau'd-Dīn Husain was busy leading a campaign against Herat in order to crush a rebellion there and to restore it again to the suzerainty of Sanjar. This means that up to that time the Ghurids, who owed allegiance to Sanjar,[2] never intended to stand before him, although, only an year ago, Sūrī's head had the misfortune of being sent to his court in utter disgrace. So, if the above historians are correct, then we are compelled to believe that (*a*) the campaign against Herat would have taken place in the beginning of A.H. 545 (or the middle of A.D. 1150), (*b*) after which *i.e.*, by the end of the same year 'Alāu'd-Dīn

گرچه این لفظ ازمن است خطا
چه کنم این خطا صواب من است

The last two verses are not found in the Kulliy t-i-Anwri (Lucknow *ed.*, 1880, pp. 593-594). For Anwari, see Prof. Sherāni,s essay in "Urdu" (Oct. 1923) and also mine in the "Ma'ārif" (Oct, 1942 Nov. 1942).

1. For these details see Rāhatu's-Sudūr (p. 176), Mujmal-i-Faṣīhī (f. 166a-b), etc. Ibn Athīr (XI, 66) says that Sanjar was defeated by the Ghuzz Turks in Muharram, 548 (April, 1153), and it should be the beginning of that year, as is inferred from a contemporary record quoted by Barthold in his "Turkistān," (p. 329 n).

2. From the Tabaqāt (Raverty, p. 358 and n2) we learn that the Sultāns of Gh r used to pay homage to Sanjar every year in the from of arms, armour, rarities, offerings, etc., and it was only 'Alāu'd-Dīn who withheld the homage subsequent to the plunder of Ghaznin.

could plunder G͟haznīn, and (*c*) that plunder was followed by the season of *severe cold* (in the beginning of A.D. 1151) as we have seen in the Ādabu'l Harb and Daulat S͟hah's biography.[1]

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1. The actual words of the Ādabu'l-Harb (pp. 50, 48, respectively), regarding *severe cold*, are as follows :—

زمین درشت پربرف کشنده در روز هاے زستان (ص ۵۰) اگر
یک شب ازخانه بیرون روند جمله از سرما قصر زنند و بمیرند
- (ص ۴۸)

Daulat S͟hah (Browne *ed.*, p. 75) says :—

بهرام شاه با او (علاؤالدین) در کنار آب باران مصاف داد -
باوجودآن که دویست فیل جنگی داشت منهزم شد و شب از شدت
سرما پناه بخرابه برد -

XV

Bahram Shah's Second Flight from and Recapture of Ghaznin

We have already seen that Bahrām Shāh had, after the above-mentioned defeat, no other recourse but to flee to India. Even if the anecdote relating to the miracle of the saint Shaikhu'l-Islaam Qashūr, as narrated above, shows that Amīr Khān, the commander of the Ghurids troops at Ghaznīn, left that city shortly after its capture and devastation, still we have no record to show that Bahrām Shāh reoccupied it soon after his flight. From the following verses of the poet Sayyid Hasan, we understand that for full one year (546/1151) at least, Bahrām Shāh had no courage to come back to Ghaznīn (from India) and that he reoccupied it only after that year, *i.e.*, in 547/1152 when Alāu'd-Dīn, as Nizāmī 'Arūdī says fought against Sanjar[1] and was subsequently captured :—

آخر دلم به آرزوے خویشتن رسید
و آنچه از خداے خواسته بودم به من رسید
آن مه که کرد طوفے سوے شرف شتافت
وان گل که وقت سالیے نزد چمن رسید
دل رفته بود جان شده منت خداے را
کان دل بسینه آمد و دل جان به تن رسید
خوش خوش کشاده بلبل مرده چو گل دهن
کان طوطئی شکر لب و شیرین سخن رسید
ماهے که از نهاد کمند زره ورش
باطبع آفتاب شکن در شکن رسید

1. It was probably on this victory of Sanjar that Anwarī composed the following quatrain :—

آخر غم غور از دل ما دور شود
وین ماتم هجر دوستان سور شود
لشکر کش گردون چودر آید بحمل
فرمان ده گیتی به نشاپور شود

بر شادی رسیدن شاهے کہ بردلش
از جان ندائے اذهب عنا الحزن رسید
بہرام شاہ شاہ کہ در ملک او رساد
آنہا کزو بہ بندۂ مسکین حسن رسید[1]

These verses (particulary Nos. 2, 6, and 7) convey the idea that Bahram Shah, who had been out (of Ghaznin) *for about a year*, then came back and was thus free from the grief and fear (caused by the Ghorids). This period of his absence from Ghaznin is not recorded in history. We simply imagine that throughout that period (546/1151) Ghaznin was under the sway of the Ghorids and that it was only after 'Alau'd-Din's fight with Sanjar, for which the former must have prepared himself in the meanwhile, that Bahram Shah could get an opportunity to proceed from India and resume his reign at Ghaznin in 547/1152.

1. India Office MS, No. 931, f. 158a-b. From the second verse of this panegyric it is evident that Bahrām Shāh had been out of Ghaznin at least *for one year*. Throughout the long reign of Bahrām, we never find that he had to go out *for one year* at least. Even when Sūri had marched against Ghaznin and occupied it in Jumādā I, 543 (September, 1148), Bahrām was out only for about *seven months*, (and not for one year), because, as we know, he reoccupied the capital after killing Sūri on the 2nd of Muharram, 544 (12th May, 1149). Hence, that interval of *seven months* cannot be extended to one year by a poet, praising his patron. On the other hand, he might have cut it short and counted it only as *one year* when his patron hand been out in 545/1150 for a year or more.

XVI

Bahram Shah's Death

There is a difference of opinion with regard to the date of Bahram's death. The writers of تاریخ صدر جهان (f. 281 b), جنات الفردوس (f. 64 a.), (Yūsuf's) منتخب التواریخ (f. 317 b), روضة الطاهرین (f. 163 a), تاریخ گزیده , لب التواریخ etc., give the date as 544/1149, but this date is absolutely wrong, because we have already seen above that Bahram Shāh was alive at least up to 547/1152. Its further proof we can find in the Preface of *Hadiqa* written by Sanāī's devotee and pupil Muhammad b. 'Alīar-Raffā.[1] In that preface the writer says

.... آن چه (سنائی) گفته بود قریب ده هزار بیت، مسوده اصل به بغداد فرستاد بنزدیک خواجه امام برهان الدین علی رحمه الله علیه و آن چه بدست او بماند چند نسخت بداد - آن عزیز قفس بشکست و ازین عالم تنگ برپرید و بروضهٔ رضوان خرامید - نور الله مضجعه -

From this passage it is clear that this preface was written *after the death of* Imam Burhānu'd-Dīn Abu,'l Ḥasan Alī b. Nasir Ghaznawi, whom Sanā'ī had sent his *Hadiqa* at Baghdad, with a versified letter at the end of it. In that preface, we find some passages about Bahram Shah as well:—

یمین الدوله امین الملت شاهنشاه بهرام شاه خلد الله ملکه............

و چون از دیوان اعلی شاهنشاهی معظمی مثال فرمودند من خادم این ده هزار بیت منتخب (؟) نمودم از بهر بار گاه اعلی شاهنشاهی اعز الله انصاره —

Therein the expressions خلد الله ملکه (may God ever keep his kingdom !) and اعز الله انصاره (may God give predominance to his helpers !) clearly show that Bahrām Shah was *alive* when that preface was written, because those expressions could be used only for a *living* ruler. So, if we find out the date of that preface (which was surely written as shown above, after the death of the Imām Burhānu'd-dīn), we can

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1. Raqqa's Preface is also in the Bombay *ed.* of Ḥadiqa. In the Bodlein Catalogue (p. 463) and Br. Museum Catalogue (III, 500 b) his name is Raffā and Raqqām respectively.

know that at lest up to that year Bahram Shah was alive. In praise of Burhanu'd-Dīn Abul Hasan 'Ali b. Nasir Ghaznawī we find two panegyrics by the poet Sayyid Hasan Ghaznawī. One of them, which he had probably sent from Ghaznīn, contains these verses :—

امام عالم برهان دین لیباك الحق   توئی که خامه زدست تو میگسار شود
گمان مبر که زعد ر تو خادم داعی   همی بجائے دگر جز به اضطرار شود
بدان خدا ے که درگاه گاه قدرت او   خزان کنند بتدریج نو بهار شود
که روزگو به اعزازم از تو دور انداخت   وگر بگویم ترسم که روزگو شود
عزیز دولت و دین گشت تامگر دانی   که هرچه هست چو بسیار گشت خوار شود
تو بحر علمی و غواص چون شود به تو بحر   برائے چونیں درهائے آبدار شود
چو در نیافت اگر بیشتر مقام کند   چو اهل دریا باشد که زرد و زار شود
تو آفتابی و سیاره محترق گردد   چو پیش خدمت آن شاه تاج دار شود
دل از جدائی بر حال وصل می ترسد   به وصل گاه جدائی امیدوار شود
اگر خدائے بخواهد عروس دولت تو   زطبع جلوه گرم خوب چون نگر شود
منم که باز همایون آشیان توام   وفائے باز نه پرواز را شکر شود[1]

And here are some of the verses, which he appears to have written at Baghdad itself :—

اے که یزدان پادشاهت کرد بر ملک علوم
دین گواهی پیش یزدان روز محشر می دهد
خاک پایت گر بدست آید سزاے توتیا
نیمهٔ بے مایگی هم سنگ آن زرمی دهد
حاشی لله من نیم آن مرد هر جائی زحرص
قصهٔ حاجت بتاویل تناور می دهد
من درین غربت که اورا عذر جز تحصیل نیست
گفته ام شعرے ولیکن یک یک برمی دهد
پارسی و تازی و سلطان برهان را دهش
وین شوم انصاف فرمان بوسهٔ درمی دهد
بنگر و بر خوان و چون اصلاح کردی عرضه کن
زان که از شاخ درخت فضل او برمی دهد
صدر دین گر نه طمع دارد غرامت می کشم
ور بدو قانع بود شکرانه بر سر می دهد

In a tarji '-band, by the same poet, in praise of Sultan Malik Shah (b. Mahmūd b. Muhammad b. Malik Shah), who ruled for about four months from Rajab, A.H.547

1. British Museum MS., Or. 4514, ff. 130 a-h.
Ibid., f. 130 b,

(october, A.D. 1152), to Shawwal of the same year (January, A.D. 1153), we find a reference to the same Imam Burhanu'd Din. It begins thus:—

صبح ملک از مشرق اقبال سر بر می زند

نور خورشیدش علم بر چرخ اخضر می زند

And the reference therein is :—

بر در بغداد گفتم (گفت سرا) خواجهٔ برهان دین

کاے ملک تاپنج مه سلطان شوی اینک شود

From this verse it is clear that Khwaja (Imam) Burhanu'd Din was alive *at least five months* before Rajab, A.H. 547 (October, A.D. 1152. So, even if he died thereafter, the date of his death would not have been earlier than the middle of A.H. 547 or the end of A.D. 1152. This eventually means that the Preface of *Hadiqa*, wherein that Imam is said to have died, was written after the said date. This further means that Bahram Shah, who appears in that Preface to be then living, did not at least die till the year 5 47/1152 Hence those histories, which record his death *by* or *before* that year, had no authenticity in this respect.

Ibn-Athir,[2] one of the best historians records the death of Bahram Shah, after a reign of 36 years, in Rajab, A.H. 548 (September-October, A.D. 1153). But from Major Raverty's note on page 114, in his English translation of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, we know that the inscriptions, on a coin of Khusrau Shah (the son and successor of Bahram Shah), as translated by him, are :—

Obverse.—[3] "Stamped coin in, the universe, with magnificence and grandeur, the great Badshah Khusrau Shah."

Reverse.—"Struck in the city of Lahore. A.H. 552, the first *of his reign.*"

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1. In the Rahatu's-Sudur it begins from p. 251, but Dr. Muhammad Iqbal could not opine for the identification of the name of this Burhanu'd-Din. I further think that it is this Imam of Ghaznin who has been referred also on pages 18 and 30 of the same book. Such religious doctors as it appears from those pages, held posts of great political authority as well, and were so much esteemed both by the kings and by the public that they were indispensable to the state.

2. Vol. XI, p. 71.

3. The titles of khusrau Shah as inscribed on his coins and as noted by Elliot (vol. II, p. 483) are :— السلطان الاعظم معزالدوله
Rodgers also records the same in his Catalogue (Calcutta, 1896, Part IV, p. 161).

If, at all, Major Raverty's reading of the coin is correct then certainly the writer of the Ṭabaqat-i-Naṣirī is correct in saying that Bahram Shah died after a rule of 41 years from A.H. 511, *i.e.*, in 552/1157 and I think in the *beginning* of that year, because from the Ādābu'l-Ḥarb (p. 56, *ll.* 11-12) we know that it was the time of summer (*i.e.*, the *middle* of that year) when 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain once again invaded Ghaznīn. This time he marched against Khusrau Shah and not against his father Bahram Shah, as the following quatrain shows :—

اول پدرت نہاد کین را بنیاد تا خلق جہان جملہ بہ بیداد افتاد
ھان تانہ دھی زبہر یک تکنا باد سر تا سر ملک آل محمود بباد

This quatrain, as Firishta (p. 52) and Faṣīḥī (f. 162 a) say, was composed by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain and sent to Khusrau Shah when the latter refused to give Tikn-ābad (or Tikīnābad) to the former's nephew Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of Bahau'd-Dīn Sām. This was then followed by 'Alāu'd-Dīn's invasion of Ghaznīn, when Khusrau Shah fled to Lahore, where he ruled till his death in 555/1160.[1]

So, from the above facts we understand that (*a*) Bahram Shah died in the beginning of 552/1152, (*b*) 'Alāu'd-Dīn invaded Ghaznīn once again in the *middle* of that year and (*c*) he (the latter) would have passed away by the end of the same year and not earlier than that as some historians record.

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1. The titles of Khusrau Shah's son Khasrau Malik were سراج الدولہ and تاج الدولہ *ibid.* Nos., 1276 and 1276 b respectively and he was perhaps the only Ghaznavid ruler having a star and a crescent inscribed on his coins. From a note on page 114 and p. 115 of the English Tr. of Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī we know that he was treacherously sent back by the Ghurids from Lahore to Ghaznin and thence to Gharjistān, where he was immured and later killed in 598/1201. With him his family was also murdered and thus ended the House of Subuktigin. Tārīkh-i-Baihaqi (p. 71) records that from 555/1160 the Ghaznavid rule was cut off from Ghaznin and limited only to Lahore, Peshawar, etc. For the limits of Maḥmūd's kingdom see Dr. Nāzim's map at the end of his book on this sovereign.

XVII

Bahram Shah's Love for Literature

Bahrām Shāh had inherited, from his great-great-grand-father, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, a great love for literature. During his long reign of forty-one years he experienced many vicissitudes, but he never failed to patronise the Persian literature and thus became a prominent figure amongst its patrons.

(1) At the very outset, when his fratricidal wars came to a close, he had the opportunity to have, in his court the poet Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī, whose following line, as we have seen above, had the honour to be inscribed on his coins:—

منادی بر آمد زهفت آسمان   که بهرام شاه است شاه جهان[1]

If it was so, then there is no hesitation to say that it was perhaps the greatest honour ever done to a poet of the East.

The same poet accompanied him in his invasion of India in 513/1119 and wrote several panegyrics to immortalise his patron's name and victories. He lived at the Sulṭān's court at Ghaznin, though not continuously, till the year[1] A.H. 545/1150 or even after it when alarmed at the growing number of his (poet's) disciples, the Sultan had to send to him one scabbard and two swords, which the poet took to be

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1. From the Br. Mus. MS. (Or. 4514, f. 123 b) we know that the poet composed a panegyric in a desert on leaving Ghaznin), the last line of which is as follows :—

از سال پانصد و چهل و پنج گوئیا   در من نگر که معجزهٔ جد خود ملم

an order to leave the country[1].

(2) Next comes Sanaī (d. 545/1150), the first Persian mystic poet whom even Rūmī has praised in his oft-cited verse :—

عطار روح بود و سنائی دو چشم او   ما از پئی سنائی و عطار آمدیم

From the Preface[2] to Sanaī's Ḥadīqa by his devotee and disciple Muḥammed b. 'Alī Raqqā we understand that when Bahram Shāh knew of the holy life of Sanaī, he offered him a post at his court, but the latter, who had led for forty years a life of retirement and 'poverty,' begged leave to retain his freedom. As a token of gratitude for the Sulṭan's acquiescence, Sanaī began to write his mystical doublet Ḥadīqa in 524/1130 and completed it in 525/1131, although in the course of its composition some of its portions were abstracted and divulged by certain ill-disposed people. Then the poet sent that work to Khwāja Burhanū'd-Dīn Abu'l Alī Nāṣir Ghaznawī at Baghdād (about whom we have already discussed above) for his opinion as is evident from its last poem, and he himself wrote a letter[3] to the Sultān, explaining his love for Gnosis, which the people had found to be a strange thing in the Ḥadīqa. Anyway, Sanā'ī had an opportunity to receive favour and regard from Bahrām Shāh, whom he praised in the ninth canto of that long mathnawī and also in the several panegyrics of his dīwān.

(3) Amongst those patronised by Bahram Shāh for literature, Abu'l Ma'ālī Naṣru'llāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd[4] had an important personality, because later he was

1. Riyāḍu'sh-Shu'ara (Imperial Library Calcutta, f. 56 a ; Makhzanu'l-Gharā'ib vol. I (Ḥabībganj , Haft-Iqlīm, f. 119 b. (Rampur), etc. There is a similar anecdote of quitting the country about Rūmī's father.

2. The Bombay edition of Ḥadīqa contains that Preface Professor Browne (vol. II, p. 317) gives the birthplace of Sanā'ī as Ghazna or Balkh but the poet himself says in the Ḥadīqa (Lucknow ed, p. 582) :—

گرچه مولد مرا زغزنین هست   نظم شعرم چو نقش ماچین هست

3. That lengthy letter may be found in Badāyūnī (vol. I, Cal. edition, pp 40-54½).

4. This 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu's-Ṣamad worked as vizier for 22 years under Ibrāhīm and then under Mas'ūd III and Arslān, till he was murdered in the reign of Bahrām Shāh. Rūnī (p. 44) also praises him thus :—

ترتیب فضل و قاعدهٔ جود و رسم او   عبدالحمید احمد عبدالصمد نهاد

appointed as vizier to Bahrām's son Khusrau Shāh (d. 555/1160) and was praised thus by the poet Sayyid Ḥasan of Ghaznīn :—

ای راحت روح و رامش تن — وصل تو طرب فزای شیون
بر بوی لب تو عقل سرمست — و ز رنگ ورخ تو خانه گلشن
وز شرم چو روی بر فروزی — گوئی که بلور شد ملون
آهن دلی، ای پری وش، ارچند — ترسان باشد پری زآهن
از دوستئی تو عقل غافل — دور از تو شدم بکام دشمن
آید به دلم که باز آیم — از غم بغرور عقل کودن
در بند گئی تو چون در ستم — عهدم چون دو زلف خویش مشکن
آخر نه منم غلام صدری — کاقبال شده است زو مبرهن
خورشید صفات ابوالمعالی — کز رای ولیست ملک روشن
نصر الله بن محمد آن کو — جان است و همه جهانیان تن[1]

This Abu'l-Ma'ālī Naṣru'llāh translated Kalīla-wa-Dimna into Persian from the Arabic version of 'Abdu'llāh b. al-Muqaffa. This Persian version is praised as a model of elegance by Waṣṣāf in a chapter devoted to this book itself. The writer of Haft Iqlīm says that no Persian prose-work was ever so much admired. He further gives Naṣrullāh a prominent place amongst the eminent men of Shīrāz and states that this vizier of Khusrau Shāh (d. 555/1160) was cast into prison through the intrigues of his enemies and finally put to death by the order of that king.

Naṣru'llāh had dedicated the book to Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh at his desire.

Dr. Rieu says :—

"The exact date of composition (of this book) is not stated, but it can be inferred from the author's incidental references to his own time. Thus the death[2] of Al-Mustarshid, which took place in A.H. 529 (A.D. 1134-35) is spoken of, fol. 11, as recent درین عهد. The Ghaznavi dynasty is said (fol. 7) to have ruled for 170 years, which, if counted from A.H. 366, when Subuktigīn, according to the Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī, established his rule in Ghaznīn, would come down to

1. Br. Mus. MS., Or. 4514, f. 124 b.

2. According to Binākatī (Asafiya, Hyderabad, p. 175) the date of this caliph's death is 520.

A.H 536 (A.D. 1141). Lastly, when speaking of al-Manṣūr, fol. 13 the author says that four hundred and odd years (چهار صد و اند سال) had elapsed since his reign. As that Caliph began to reign from A.H. 136 this statement could hardly have been written before A.H. 538 or 539 (A.D. 1143 or 11144)."[1]

(4) Besides the above, the famous poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān cannot be forgotten. He was patronised apparently up to his death in 515/1121. He wrote several[2] panegyrics in praise of Bahram Shah. One of 13 very fine verses, each of which contains the name of the patron in a very elegant manner, begins thus:—

تا بر آمد ز آتش شمشیر بهرامی قرار   دار گیتی را فلک بر ملک بهرامی قرار
کرد بهرام افتخار از ملک شه بهرامشاه   در همه معنی که برتر دیده از این افتخار
گشت ملک و عدل ازو اباد تا ملک ست و عدل   ملک بهرامی لباس و عدل بهرامی نگار[3]

(5) Another poet, patronised by Bahrām Shāh, was "Sayyidu'sh Shu'ara" Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī. Rūḥānī[4] of Ghaznīn, whose composition is rather obscure. His "Saugand Nāma" of 83 verses is found in the *Munisu'l Aḥrar* (pp. 212-215) and Majmū'a-i-Qaṣā'id-i-Farsī No. 49/2 (pp. 153-156) of the Ḥabīb Ganj Library and is of great historical value, as we shall discuss later. It begins thus:

زہے بفکرت روشن زهاب چشمۂ جان   در آفرینش عالم دلت سما خوان
توئی توئی که اگر خواہمت عطارد ارض   درین سخن نبود خلق را مجال گمان
لجیب ملک حسین حسن برائے خدا   بتیغ دولت انصافم از جہان بستان

1. British Museum Catalogue, vol. II, p. 746a. The dêtails may be found on pp. 745a-746a (*ibid.*) and in Firishta, p. 50. But from Ibnu'l Fuwaṭī's Majma'ul-Ādāb (Oriental College Magazine, May, 1935, p. 22) we know that 'Abdu'r Rashīd b. Maḥmūd had himself translated that book from Arabic to Persian.

2. His dīwān, Tehrān ed., 1318, pp. 70, 74, 114, 116, 289 and 558.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 289. A good copy of this poet's dīwān is in the Public Library of Lahore. According to Dr. Iqbāl Ḥusain: ('The early Persian Poets of India, p. 111) the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd could not get patronage from Malik Arslān although he wrote several panegyrics in his praise, but later he became one of the courtiers of Bahrām Shāh.

4. For further details about Rūḥānī see the Oriental College Magazine of Lahore, August 1940. Seeal so Lubāb, II, pp. 282-287.

بذات پاک خدا و بدین پیغمبر   بارگاه خلیفه بنعمت سلطان
یمین دولت بهرام شاه بن مسعود   که آفتاب ملوک است و سایهٔ یزدان

Other less important poets of Bahram's court are (6) Muḥammad and (7) Ḥasan the sons of Naṣir-i-'Alawī. Muḥammad, according to 'Awfī,[1] was older of the two and wrote very fine poetry in the court of Bahram Shah. His one paneygric begins thus :—

چو خاک و باد کند نور و نم در آتش و آب
شکوه آن عرضی باد و جوهر آتش و آب

He was a contemporary and friend of Sana'ī (d. 545/1150), who wrote a fine panegyric in his praise and on his lines :—

بمدح العمید شرف الدین محمد بن ناصر العلوی
بجے که گر نکند یک نظر بر آتش و آب
شود زلطف جمالش مصور آتش و آب
سر محامد سید محمد آن که شده است
بلند همت و نظمش بگوهر آتش و آب
میان طبع تو و طبع حاسدت در نظم
کنایت است بر آن شعر داور آتش و آب
مباد قاعدهٔ دولت تو زیر و زبر
همیشه تا که بود زیر و زبر آتش و آب
به هفت کشور نثرت رسید و نظم آرے
جدا که دید خود آن هیچ کشور آتش و آب[2]

About Muḥammad's younger brother Sayyid Ḥasan I think 'Awfī could not distinguish between him and his popular and oft-cited name-sake (Sayyid Hasan) of Ghaznīn, because the former was not even thirty when he died. His friend Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān wrote an elegy (d. 515/1121) thus:—

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1. For this Muḥammad and Sayyid Ḥasan see Lubāb II, p. 267 and pp. 270-276 respectively. The dīwān of Muḥammad's father Nāṣir 'Alawī is perhaps the same as found on the margins (of p. 206 seq.) of the dīwān of Kamal-i-Khujand and(Persian MS. No386, Aṣafia, Hyderabad, Deccan).

2. Sanā'ī's dīwān, ff. 13b-14a, Bankipore.

بر تو سید حسن دلم گرید   که چو تو هیچ غم گسار نه داشت
زان ترا خاک در کنار گرفت   که چو تو شاه در کنار نه داشت
اے عزیزے که در همه احوال   جان من دوستیت خار نه داشت
سی نه شد زاد تو تنگ و یک   سال زاد ترا شمار نه داشت
این قدر داد چون توی را عمر   شرم بادش که شرم عار نه داشت
بد نیارست کرد با تو فلک   تامرا اندرین حصار نه داشت
هیچ روزے به شب نه شد که مرا   نامهٔ تو در انتظار نه داشت
زار مسعود ازان همی گوید   که بحق ماتم تو زار نه داشت[1]

(8) Another important poet of Bahram Shah's court was Shihabu'd-Din 'Ali Abu Rija of Ghaznin (d. A.H. 586 or 598), who wrote several panegyrics in his praise, as we know from the Lubab II (pp. 276-282) and Majmaul-ul-Fuṣaḥa I (pp. 68-70). We may quote only the opening lines of some of those panegyrics :—

سپیده دم که خط نور بر ظلام کشند   براق خسرو سیاره در لگام کشند
ابرے خوش ست و پرده برآفاق می کشد   دل سوے ساقیان سمن ساق می کشد
نازنین سرو با روز نگرش   که برد سجده سرو خاتقرش

There are two "fragments" written by him when Bahram Shah underwent operations by a phlebotomist. Their opening lines are:—

ملک بخوردن باده چو مطربان بنشاند   پور گرفتن خون فصد کرد و رگ زن خواند
آمد آن کودک مسیح پرست   نیش الماس گون گرفته بدست

The second "fragment" relates a story that when Bahram Shah was being operated upon by a phlebotomist, he held his chin whereupon he got annoyed. So the king remarked :—

شرط باشد به وقت کردن فصد   گوے سیمین گرفتن اندر دست

But similar verses are found in Sana'i's Diwan (pp. 133-134 n. Bombay ed.) as well.

(9) One more distinguished poet, as we know from the

1. Professor Mas'ud Hasan's copy, Lucknow. The printed diwan (pp. 62-63) of the poet also contains it. Other discussion on the namesake will be found in my separate article on Sayyid Hasan.

Lubāb I (pp. 281-282), was Imām Fakhru'd-Dīn Muhammad b. Mahmūd b. Ahmad of Nishāpūr, who wrote several books and also won Sanjar's mercy for Bahrām Shāh in 530/1136 by this quatrain :—

گر آب دهی نهال خود کاشته ای   ور بست کنی بنای خود افراشته ای
من بنده همانم که تو پنداشته ای   از دست میفکنم چو بر داشته ای

There are some more[1] poets of Bahrām's court mentioned in the Lubāb II (pp. 286, 291, 348). Their names are (10) Muhammad b. 'Uthmān, (11) Sa'du'd-Dīn Mas'ūd and (12) Shamsu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh. As they are less known we do not quote their verses here.

Anyway, there is no doubt as to the fact that a number of good poets and literati were patronised by Bahrām Shāh and he would certainly have ranked with the prominent patrons of Persian literature of all times, if his name had not been buried in the "darkest pages of history."

1. It is wrong to suppose like Firishta (p. 50, *l*. 9) that Nizāmī Ganjawī dedicated his Makhzanu'l-Asrār to this Bahrām Shāh, because it was composed in 582/1186, (about 30 years after our Bahrām's death) as one of its ending lines shows :—

از که هجرت شده تا این زمان   پانصد و هشتاد و دو افزون برآن

His patron was Bahrām Shāh of Adharbāijān, as he himself says in the following lines, referring also to his name-sake of Ghaznīn (whom Sanā'ī had praised) :—

بر همه شاهان زپئے این جال   قرعه زدم نام تو آمد بفال
نامه دو آمد زدو ناموس گاه   هر دو مسجل بدو بهرام شاه
آن زرے از کان کهن ریخته   وین گهر از بحر نو انگیخته
آن بدر آورده ز غزنین علم   وین زده بر سکه رومی درم
گرچه درآن سکه سخن چون زرست   سکه و زر من ازان بهترست

On the authority of Dawlat Shāh (p. 74, Browne *ed.*) Professor Browne (vol. II, p. 341) says that Jabalī also became the court-poet o Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn, but from his works—preserved in Habīb Ganj and Bombay (Juma Masjid) libraries, we do not find any panegyric in his praise, and his name, according to the traditional practice of his age, is not found in any one of them.

XVIII

Bahram Shah's Character

Ibn-Athīr (vol. XI, p. 71) and the writer of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Raverty p. 109) are correct in saying that Bahrām Shāh was munificent, just and kind-hearted. Of his love of munificence and forgiveness we find an anecdote in the *Ādābu'l-Ḥarb* as follows:—

On one occasion Bahrām Shāh held an entertainment in the palace of the Pīrūzī Gardens. At sunset he ordered that the banquet pavilion of the palace be set up outside. The butlers and farrāshes began to take it out. As the palace became relatively more empty, a farrāsh trampled on a golden and bejewelled narcissus vase weighing a thousand mithqāl, doubled it, picked it up and tucked it away in his breeches. The Sulṭān saw it all, but pretended not to see it. When the pavilion was taken out they searched for the vase, but could not find it. The Head Steward of the Royal Workshops called in every person, but when he failed to find any of the servants confessing the theft he began to scourge them. When the Sulṭān heard this beating he sent for the Head Steward and said, "Don't penalise innocent Muslims, for he who has carried it away will not give it back and he (referring to himself) who has seen him carry it away will not betray him."

The Head Steward stopped his enquiry, the Sulṭān called in the superintendent of the Workshop, told him that he had presented that vase to someone, and ordered him to write it off in the inventory of the Household furniture. A long time after this, the farrāsh, who had carried away the vase, and invested its proceeds in acquiring estates and furniture, and purchasing female slaves, vineyards, gardens and mills, was helping the Sulṭān to wash his hands. He was then dressed in patched garments, when the Sulṭān said, "You wretch ! have you nothing left out of the proceeds of that narcissus vase ?" He replied that it was all gone. Then the Sulṭān gave him more money and said "Spend it. When it is all spent I will order them to give you more, but don't

mention these things to any one lest they take you to task, (for your misdeed.)"[1]

For his love of justice we find an anecdote[2] in the *Subḥ-i-Ṣadiq* (vol. III, f. 1021 b) as follows:

Once an afflicted man brought an appeal before Bahrām Shāh against the oppressions of a certain governor ('Āmil). The Sulṭān wrote an order asking him to redress the wrong, and gave that order to the man to take it to him. When the man handed the order to the governor he tore it to pieces and forced the man to swallow it. The man had to do so, but he approached the Sulṭān a second time and told him what had happened. Bahrām Shāh ordered his secretary (dabīr) to write an order. The secretary took out a big paper to write on, then the aggrieved man said, "Please write the order on a small paper, so that it may not be difficult for me to swallow it."

Bahram Shāh laughed at this remark, so the man said, "If thou hadst some sense of respect and dignity, thou wouldst have wept to see that thy governor does not obey thy order."

These words impressed the Sulṭān very much. He instantly girded a sword to his loins, mounted his horse and proceeded to the place where the governor was. The Sulṭān enquired into the matter and killed the governor on the spot.

But in spite of these virtues Bahrām Shāh was a man only and not an angel. He had a heart and was prone to be attracted by female beauty. From the *Ādābu'l-Harb* we have the following story[3] about the Sulṭān's infatuation for a beautiful maid-servant whom he had purchased.

Once she fell so seriously ill that the physicians of the state could not treat her. The Sulṭān was greatly upset. At that time a Christian named Abū Sa'īd of Mosil,

1. Ādābu'l-Ḥarb, Lahore edn, pp. 7-8, but I have followed its translation by Miss Iqbāl M. Shafī' in "Islamic Culture," April, 1938, pp. 119-200.

2. Muḥammad 'Awfī quotes a similar anecdote in the Jawāmi'ul-Hikāyat (Tr. II, 319, Delhi ed.) but ascribes it to Mas'ūd (?) of Ghaznin.

3. *Ibid.* (Tr.), pp. 196-199.

happened to come to the capital from 'Irāq. As he was an expert physician, he was informed about the patient but not about her sex. He sent for the urine, on the examination of which he could suggest a line of treatment.

Next day they took the urine to him. When he saw it he said "It is the urine of a Hindu woman, for they mostly suffer from this disease, which has conflicting characteristics, and is difficult to cure. Let me see the patient so that after feeling her pulse, seeing her face, tongue and the eyelids, I may diagnose the disease better and prescribe some medicine for her."

This was reported to the Sulṭān, who was surprised to hear of the perfect skill and knowledge of the physician, but did not like to show her to a stranger. At length, on the advice of his nobles he agreed to it but ordered his Atābek (lit. Father Prince) Mehtar Jawhar to be with the woman on the occasion.

When the physician saw her, he behaved like a mad man, ran out and said, "I am going home to consult my books, because the case is a difficult one."

But when Mehtar Jawhar told the Sulṭān how the physician had fallen in love with the patient, he was wild with rage and Mehtar Jawhar then tactfully handled the situation by saying that the physician prayed that if the "Lord of the World would sell or give him the maid as a gift he would embrace Islam." This remark cooled Bahrām Shāh. He then asked Mehtar Jawhar to bring the physician, if he really wanted to become a Muslim. The physician was then summoned to the court, where he embraced Islam and the maid, whom the Sulṭān had manumited, was married to him.

The maid was given a large dowry, for every lady of the royal seraglio presented her with a quantity of wearing apparel, so that from every palace four hundred pieces came to her. The couple became exceedingly rich and after a few days the patient recovered her health. She gave birth to two daughters and two sons, and the sons were the

contemporaries of the authopr of the *Ādabu'l Harb* as he himself says in that book.[1]

1. The first portion of this story may be compared with that of the first story of Rūmī (d. 672/1273), whose full contents are summarised here :—

A prince, while engaged in hunting, saw a fair maiden, whom he brought with him after promise of gold. Once she fell sick and the prince had her tended by many physicians. As, however, they did not say "God willing, we will cure her," their attempts failed to cure her. The prince then prayed to God and in answer thereto a physician was sent from heaven. He at once condemned his prodecessor's view of the case, and by a very skilful diagnosis (*i.e.*, feeling gradually the stronger beats of her pulse on her consecutive answers to his queries, regarding her lover's home) he discovered that the real cause of the maiden's illness was her love for a certain goldsmith. He then arranged to get him married to the love-sick maiden and for six months the couple lived together in happiness and good health. After that the physician, by divine order, gave the goldsmith a poisonous draught, which caused his strength and beauty to decay. Then he lost favour with the maiden, and she was reunited to the prince.

Rūmī's account regarding the diagnosis (*i.e.*, feeling the pulse beats of the patient in finding out her lover's destination) may be compared with that of the fifth story of the fourth Maqāla of Niẓāmī 'Arūḍi. Therein the physician is Avicenna and the patient was a man (and not a woman) related to Qābūs. The rest of the story, regarding the diagnosis, is similar to that of Rūmī.

There is a similar story in Majma 'un-Nawādir of Faiḍu'llāh. (See the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, August, 1939, pp. 105-106).

XIX

Bahram Shah's Sons and Viziers

From the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣiri* (Raverty p. 111) we learn that Bahrām Shāh had ten sons :—

(1) Jalālu'd-Daulah, Daulat Shāh (slain in battle with the Ghurides in 545/1150), (2) 'Alāu'd-Daulah, Dawūd Shāh (or Zāwu'l Shāh) ; (3) Bahāu'd-Daulah, Sulṭān Shāh ; (4) Fakhru'd-Daulah, 'Alī Shāh ; (5) 'Izzu'd-Daulah, Muḥammad Shāh (6) Samāu'd-Daulah, Mas'ūd Shāh, (7) Shihābu'd-Daulah, Manṣūr Shāh, (8) Mu'īnu'd-Daulah, Shāhin Shāh (9) Mu'izzud-Daulah, Khusrau Shāh and (10) Sayyidud-Daulah, Farrukh Shāh.

The first son was really the eldest one, as the poet Sayyid Ḥasan says :—

دائم توبه این بزرگواری فرزند مهین پادشائی
دولت شه تا جورکه دارد میراث زعون مصطفائی[1]

The date of birth of Bahrām's son Khusrau Shāh (ninth in the above order), as given in *Jannatu'l-Firdaus* (f. 64 a, Bankipore) and Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥī (f. 160 b, Bankipore) is 515/1121. Hence the eldest son Daulat Shāh, even if born of a different mother, was not born later[2] than 514/1120. This show that at the time of the composition of Sanā'ī's *Hadiqa* in 524/1130, when he appears to have returned from Sanjar's hostage Daulat Shāh was not more than ten years of age. After that we have seen his valour in 545/1150 against the forces of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Ghūri and his subsequent death in that fight.

But the poet Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī, in his long

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1. India Office MS., No. 931, fol. 142 a.

2. This suggests that Bahrām Shāh might have been married after his enthronement in 511/117. We have already seen in the beginning that Bahrām had gone to seek Sanjar's help in the company of *one attendant* and no other, because, most probably, he had then no wife or family.

paneygric, in praise of Bahrām Shāh after the latter s victory over Saifu'd-Dīn Sūrī on the 2nd of Muḥarram, A.H. 544 (Thursday, the 12th of May, A.D., 1149), mentions three sons only, *i.e.*, Nos. 6, 8 and 9 of the above order and not Daulat Shāh. So, his absence in a less important war of 544/1149 shows that he was then engaged on a more important task, most probably he was in charge of India, and it is to be inferred from the following lines of the same poet :—

تابر سر ولایت خود آمده است شاه
گوئی به اوج در شرف است آفتاب و ماه
آن کامگار مشرق و آن شهریار هند
آن افتخار دولت و آن افتخار گاه
والا جلال ملت دولت شه شجاع
آن آفتاب بارگه و سایهٔ اله
از شرع با جلالت واز شرک با فزع
از ملک با طراوت و ازعدل در پناه[1]

The third and fourth verses refer "Jalalu'd-Daulah" as the correct title of Daulat Shāh, who is called the "king of India" in the second verse. It was most probably under him that Muḥammad b. Manṣūr was the vizier (or viceroy) of India, as is inferred from the following verse of the same poet Ḥasan :—

عمر مرا هوای لهاوور بوده بود
همت بر آن سعادت مقصور بوده بود
نزدیک نور نیک بدیع است پس عجب
گوئی که آفتاب مگر دور بوده بود

1. India Office MS., No. 931, ff. 8 b-83 a. The fact that he was in charge of India is inferred also from a tarji'-band by the same poet, passing Daulat Shāh's horse. Some of its verses are :—

پیکرے کو فتح و نصرت را بحق جان آمد است
رشک رخش رستم و تخت سلیمان آمده ست
نے غلط کردم براق است او و لیکن از بهشت

———

بهر غزو شاه هندستان بفرمان آمده ست
مفخر دیهیم و گاه و زینت تخت و کلاه
صورت اقبال دولت شاه بن بهرام شاه

نی نی چنین به دفع لها ور یکے بود
این نکته بر ضمیرم مستور بوده بود
دیدم کنون که خاصیت نور آفتاب
در همت محمد منصور بوده بود
صدرے که هر یک از پدر و جد او چنون
در مملکت به رادی مشهور بوده بود
بودم ضعیف داد مرا قوت سپاس
چون می که جان او شد و انگور بوده بود
یک هفته دور ماند ز دیدار تو حسن
از لطف در گذار که معذور بوده بود[1]

This view seems to be correct when from *Habibu's-Siyar* (vol. II, part IV, p. 33) and Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥī (f. 1029 b) we know that this Abū Muḥammad Hasan b. Abū (Naṣr) Manṣūr al-Qā'inī[2] was the vizier of Bahram Shāh. This Muḥammad descended from Aḥmad b. Hasan Maimandi, the famous vizier of Sulṭan Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, as is inferred from the following verses of the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salman in praise of his father Abū Naṣr Manṣūr :—

عمیدے که اخبار او همچو دین   رسیده است در هر بلا دو کور[3]

ابو نصر منصور کاندر جهان   شده نام او چون هنر مشتهر

منصور بن سعید بن احمد که در جهان   چون فضل نامور شد و چون جود مشتهر[4]

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1. India Office MS., No. 931 a. The same poet has two more panegyrics in his praise. A verse of one of them is :—

واللّه که محمد ابن منصور   همچون پدرست نیک خواهت

Ibid., (f. 112 a). About his dates and those of his successor Ḥasan b. Aḥmad see my separate Article on Sayyid Ḥasan.

2. He may not be confused with مفتی مشرق محمد ابن منصور, of *Sarakhs*, who was only a theologian and not a vizier during the reign of Bahrām Shāh. Sanā'ī dedicated his مثنوی سیر العباد الی المعاد. See Dr. M. Iqbāl's note on pp. 473-475 of Rāḥatu's-Ṣudūr.

3. Diwān of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd. Tehran edn., 1318, p. 201.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

نیز منویس نامه هاے امید | پیش مفرست رقعهاے نیاز
جز بر صاحب اجل منصور | آن که مهرش برد زچرخ مجاز
حرز جان تو بس بود زبلا | مدحت شهر یار بنده نواز
پادشه بو المظفر ابراهیم | آن زمانه نهادِ گردون ساز[1]

خواجه منصور بن سعید که کرد | زنده آثار احمد ابن حسن[2]

منصور سعید آن که از و مجلس سلطان | چون چرخ زخورشید گرفته است جمالے
از آل وزیر الوزرائیست که هرگز | هست و نه بود و نه بود چون او والے[3]
با تاج سروران همه حضرت | خواجه عمید صاحب میمندی
منصور بن سعید خدا وندے | کز فراوست تازه خدا وندی[4]

These lines show that Abū Muḥammad, the vizier or viceroy of India was the son of Abū Naṣr Manṣūr, the son of Sa'īd, the son of Aḥmad, the son of Hasan Maimandī.

Next comes Bahrām Shāh's another son Khusrau Shāh, in whose praise there are several panegyrics by the poet Sayyid Ḥaṣan, but none of them carries any historical value, with the exception of one which suggests that he had gone as a hostage to Sanjar's court in 530/1136. One panegyric seems to have been written on his recovery from some illness or probably on his return from Sanjar's court. Some of its verses are as follows :—

اے بخت بده مژده که برخاست یک بار
از گوهر شمشیر خدا وندی زنگار
اے خلق بنا زید که بار دگر آمد
فرخنده نهال چمن دولت بر بار
شکر از تو خدایا که ازین جاے مبارک
شد سی دمک چشم جهانداری بیدار
آرام دل و روشنی چشم شهنشاه
خسرو شه فرخنده که باداش فلک یار

1. Dīwan of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd, Tehran, edn. 1318, p. 201.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 458.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 513.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 527. The poet Abu'l-Faraj Rūnī has also praised this Manṣūr b. Sa'īd. See his dīwān, pp. 58, 139, etc.

از رنج برون آمد المنة لله
چونان که در از آب و زر از کان و گل از خار
آسوده شد آن جان که تن نازک پاکش
از سایهٔ برگ گل بر گیرد آزار
شاها ز گل باغ جلال تو که بشگفت
شد آتش نیلوفری از عطر چون گلزار
از یمن رضاے تو شفا یافت وگرنه
عیسی به زمین آمدے از چرخ برین کار[1]

This prince, as we have seen, was born in 515/1121. He ruled, after his father's death, from 552/1157 up to 555/1160.

About the third son "Abū Mulūk Mu'inu'd-Daulah" Shahin Shah, the eighth son in the above-mentioned list of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, we find the following panegyric by Sayyid Ḥasan.

خداے داند و بس تا چه خرم است جهان
بریں نظام جهان را کسے نه داد نشان
ابو المظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود
که هست نامش بر نامهٔ ظفر عنوان
معز دولت و دین و معین ملت و ملک
که هست نور دل و چشم سایهٔ یزدان
ابو الملوک خدا وند زاده شاهنشه
که شد بدولتش آراسته زمین و زمان
اگر تفاوت هرگز فتاد ذات ترا
زعفش تربیت شاه و حرمت خود دان

1. India Office MS., No. 931, f 83 b The same poet had once written a laudatory poem on Bahrām Shāh's suffering from pain in his foot (*Ibid*, f 70 b) :—

گوهر کان خداوندی ملک بهرام شاه
آن که هر لفظش بجاے در شهوار ایستد
درد پایش را که زایل باد عذر است این و بس
کان خدا وند از براے خلق بسیار ایستد

هلال وار چو کردی زچرخ ملک طلوع
شود هر آینه بدرے مسلم از نقصان[1]

Of the ten sons mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī these three are often recalled by the poets. It was, most probably, on Bahrām Shāh's return from flight to India in 543/1148, after the first attack by the Ghurides, that the poet Sayyid Ḥasan wrote a panegyric mentioning the three sons only —

اندرین عید مبارک پئے و فرخنده اثر
بار داده است سلیمان نبی باز مگر
که زپیلان و دلیران و شجاعان امروز
مردم و دیو و پری گشت فراهم یکسر
شاه در مرکز اقبال توقف کرده
تعبیه در کنف رایت او فتح و ظفر
تاج عالیش چو چرخے که بود بے حرکت
تخت میمونش چو کوئے که بود جانان در
رفته باکوکبه در مشرق خورشید ملوک
سه ملک زاده که شان بنده سزد هفت اختر[2]

The poet Ruḥānī Ghaznawī also refers to the three sons of Bahram Shāh in his "Saugand Nāma" thus:—

بذات پاک خدا و بدین پیغمبر — بیار گاه خلیفه به نعمت سلطان
یمن دولت بهرام شاه بن مسعود — که آفتاب ملوک است و سایهٔ یزدان
بجان هر سه جگر گوشهٔ دلاور تو — بگرد نعل سپاه و بذرهٔ اعیان[3]

But from the long panegyric of Sayyid Ḥasan, written on Bahrām Shāh's victory on the 2nd of Muḥarram, A.H. 544 (Thursday, the 12th of May, 1149), we know that "Samāu'd-Daulah" Mas'ūd Shāh, the sixth in the list of the Ṭabaqāt, is also mentioned. Hence, only four sons (1) Daulat Shāh, (2) Mas'ūd Shāh, (3) Khusrau Shāh and (4) Shāhin Shāh out of ten appear to have lived or deserved any mention. The other six either died in their childhood or the poets failed to mention them.

1. India Office MS. No. 931. ff. 81a-b. This panegyric describes, in other verses, the glory, splendour, peace and tranquillity of the capital Ghaznīn.

2. *Ibid.*, ff. 69b-70a.

3. Mūnisu'l-Aḥrār, Ḥabībganj, p. 212.

Now we should find out the viziers of Bahrām Shāh, besides his viceroy[1] Abū Muḥammad Hasan b. Abū Naṣr Manṣūr al-Qā'inī of India. From the following verses of the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd (d. 515/1121) we know that in the *beginning* of his reign Bahrām Shāh's vizier was Aḥmad :

تا بر آمد ز آتش شمشیر بهرامی شرار   داد گیتی را فلک بر ملک بهرامی قرار
کرد بهرام افتخار از ملک شه بهرام شه   در همه معنی که برتر دیده از این افتخار
در همه معنی چو احمد بود بهرامی مضا   از پی صدر وزارت کرد اورا اختیار
در کف کافی او زان خامهٔ بهرام سیر   [بعد] و نحس دوستان و دشمنان شد آشکار
این وزارت را که بهرامی ست تیغ طبع او   از نشاط خدمت تو گشت خرم روزگار[2]

Bahrām Shāh seems to have appointed this Aḥmad as his vizier just after he had killed the old one 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd (b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'ṣ Ṣamad), who, according to the writers of *Atharu'l-Wuzara* (ff. 145 a-b, Bankipore), *Dastūru'l Wuzarā* (Tehran edn., p. 147) *Subhi-i-Sādiq* (vol. III, f. 1029 a, Bankipore), etc., had served under Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (d. 492/1099) for 22 years, under Mas'ūd III (d. 508/1115) for 16 years and under Malik Arslān (d. 512/1118) probably for three years. About the duration of the vizierate of Aḥmad (the son of Ḥusain, as we shall know later) we have no record, but he seems to have not lived long, because the poets Sanā'ī and Sayyid Ḥasan have got no panegyrics in his praise. After him most probably his own son "Muntakhabu'l Mulk Qiwāmu'd-dīn" Abū 'Alī Ḥasan succeeded to his post. There are several panegyrics in his praise by the poet Sayyid Hasan. I select here a few useful verses from different panegyrics :—

رخش بر مه گلستان می نماید   بر آتش آب حیوان می نماید
قوام دولت و [مثل] حسن آن   که صدر و بدر اعیان می نماید
خدایا این چه اخلاص و سداد است   که او در ملک سلطان می نماید
خداوند جهان بهرام شه آن   که با فر سلیمان می نماید[3]

قوام الدین حسن صدرے که دولت   مراد دل بدو آسان فرستد[4]

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1. This Abū Muḥammad would have been the viceroy of India after Husain b. Ibrāhīm 'Alawī, who had been appointed after the death of Muḥammad-i-Abū Ḥalīm.

2. His dīwān, p. 289.

3. India Office MS. No. 931, f. 88 b.

4. *Ibid*, f. 111 b.

یارب چه سوز بود که اندر جهان فتاد
سود حسود صدر جهان را زیان فتاد
صدر جهانیان حسن احمد حسین
کش دست و دل بجود سوے بحر و کان فتاد[1]

طلوع خسرو سیارگان به برج حمل   خجسته بادا بر خواجه عمید اجل
یگانه منتخب ملک شاه و تاج خواص   که برگزید زخلقش خداے عزوجل
جمیل نام و نشان و سدید قول و قلم   رفیع قدر و محل و عزیز علم و عمل
ابو علی حسن احمد آن که در شانش   شده ست آیت سری و سردمی منزل[2]

از زبان ممدوح می گوید :—

کارے بگزاف می گذارم   عمرے به امید می سپارم
نے زهرهٔ آن که دل بپویم   نے طاقت آن که دم بر آرم
گر رنج تو نیست هیچ راحت   جز بر در خاص شهر یارم
صاحب حسن آن که شاه دولت   جز پرور او نه داده بارم
آن صدر منم که از عزیزی   پروردهٔ اقبال در کنارم
شکر ایزد که مملکت را   من از دو وزیر یاد گارم[3]

The last verse shows, that this vizier Hasan is the descendant of the two previous viziers, *i.e.*, (*a*) his father Aḥmad and (*b*) his grandfather Ḥusain.

Up to the year 544/1149, at least, this Ḥasan was alive, because on the recovery of Ghaznin by Bahram Shah in that year, as we have already seen, the poet wrote a panegyric in

1. India Office MS. No. 931, f. 53 a.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 52 b
3. *Ibid.*, f. 90 a. But this قوام الدین حسن of Bahrām's court should not be confused with قوام‌الدین ابوالقاسم ناصر بن حسن درگزینی یا الطغرائی of Sanjar's court (آثار الوزرا, f. 183 b.) He (the latter) died in 528/1133-34 (Rāḥatu's Ṣudūr, p. 209) and had killed the famous عین القضاة همدانی (Khazīnatu'l Āṣfiyā, vol. II, p. 10). The writer of مسالک السالکین vol. II, p. 260, Agra edn.) says that he had thrown Hamdānī into fire as well. We quote here a fine quatrain of Hamdānī from بیاض رباعیات No. 1469, Nadwa Library, Lucknow :—

در کوے مراد منزلے باید نیست   وز کشتهٔ عشق حاصلے باید نیست
گفتی که بصبر کار تو نیک شود   با صبر تو دانی که دلے باید نیست

Sanāī, too, has praised one قوام الدین حسن (Diwan, Bombay edn., p. 77) and he is apparently of Bahrām's court.

which this vizier appears to have regained his post after the collapse of the Ghurides. Some of its verses are :—

منت خداے را که به اقبال پادشاه
ایمن شد از محاق و کسوف آفتاب و ماه

منت خداے را که شکفت و چمید باز
هم گلبن سعادت و هم سرو بار گاه

منت خداے را که به طبع لطیف داشت
روے نکوے منتخب از چشم بد نگاه

منت خداے را که زمانه گرفت خو
زآن آفتاب مملکت و سایهٔ اله

بس چشم شور و روے ترش بود منتظر
تا چشم شان سپید شد و روے شان سیاه

بارے به اوج ماه نه بیند کسے سها — بارے بجاے سرو نه بیند کسے گیاه
تاج خواص بر سر دولت رسید باز — تا هر فضول کژ ننهد گوشهٔ کلاه
آئینه اے که عکس بزرگی نموده، گشت — روشن چنان که تیره نه گردد به هیچ آه
خورشید مملکت حسن احمد آن که ساخت — در سایهٔ سعادت او ملک و دین پناه
باز آمدی چو باز سپید از گریز جائے — باز آمدی چو شیر سیه در شکار گاه
من بنده را که هست زهر علم حاصلے — رهبر توئی رها مکن اندر میان راه[1]

Verses 5 and 6 refer to Saifu'd-Dīn Sūrī, who was gibbetted, along with his vizier Majdu'd-Dīn Mūsawī, by Bahrām Shāh on the 2nd of Muḥarram, A.H. 544 (Thursday, 12th May 1149). Other verses show that after that murder Bahrām Shāh regained his throne and منتخب الملک حسن بن احمد بن حسین his vizierate.

After this vizier, *i.e*, at the end of Bahrām's reign, his (vizier's) son نجیب الملک نجیب الدین حسین succeeded to that post. There are several panegyrics and tarji'-bands in his praise by the poet Sayyid Ḥasan, the useful verses of which I quote here :—

فرزانه حسین حسن احمد خاصه — آن کرده خدایش زهمه خلق خلاصه
فرخنده جمالت که گل دولت و دین است — باغ نظر منتخب الملک حسن باد[2]

———

صفت گلستان رخسارت — چون کند بلبل زبان کشته
از تو تا دولت نجیب الملک — چرخ کهنه زسر جوان گشته

1. India Office MS., No. 931, ff. 74 b-48 a.
2. *Ibid.*, ff. 33 a-b.

خاصه شاه و خواجه زادهٔ من   گل باغ هنر حسین حسن[1]

روزے نگرکه طوطی جانم سوے لبت   از بهر پسته آمد و در شکر او فتاد
این هم بدان سبب که زکلک نجیب دین   گرچه شبه نمود و همه گوهر او فتاد
آن کلک کیست، کلک حسین حسن که هست   از جام جود او دل و جان امید مست[2]

باز گشته ز با ختر منصور   بس نکو نام پیش شاه شده
داده دولت چو پرده دار آواز   از صدا صیت بار گاه شده
آرزوے دل و دو دیدهٔ من   آب تیغ ظفر حسین حسن[3]

These verses clearly show that Najību'd-Dīn Ḥusain succeeded his father to the vizierate. The third verse, from the last, shows that he had been to Bacteria (Balkh, or to some western town) for some war which he won. During the vizierate of this Ḥusain, Sayyidu'sh-Shu'ara Rūḥānī of Ghaznīn wrote his long "Saugand Nāma" of 83 verses, which I quote here, selecting only a few useful verses for their historical importance :—

زہے بفکرت روشن زهآب چشمهٔ جان   در آفرینش عالم دلت معما خوان
توئی توئی که اگر خواہمت عطارد ارض   درین سخن نبود خلق را مجال گمان
نجیب ملک حسین حسن براے خدا   بتیغ دولت انصاف از جهان بستان
شنیدهٔ تو که سوگند نامہا دیدم   زگفتهٔ دوسه محراب کوب لت انبان
یکے ازایشان پنجک ستان و پنبه فروش   که کرد گردش چرخش چوچرخ سر گردان
دوم ادیب پریشان سخن که پیموداست   هزار بار بسینه همه دبیرستان
سوم رشیدك وطواط ژاژ خائے که هست   چو کلغ گنده دماغ وچودلغ پنبه دهان
چهار مین شان کان سه کجانهم بارے (؟)   چراغ مردهٔ دانش فرزدق بنیان (؟)
سیاه روے، خنک اخترے، سفید تنے   که روزگار بروکرد خانه چون زندان
چه کفرها وچه سوگند نامہاے دروغ   که چشم شرع بمانده ست در تحیر آن
ولیک هم بخداے که آفریدهٔ اوست   باتفاق نبات و معادن و حیوان
بعز ملک خداے و بکام عالم امر   بنور جوهر عقل و بنطق گوهر جان
بیمن دولت بهرام شاه بن مسعود   که آفتاب ملوك است و سایه یزدان
بجان هر سه جگر گوشهٔ دلاور تو   بگرد نعل سپاه و بذرهٔ اعیان
براے صاحب کافی، بجاه مجدالملک   که روح شان همه روح ست وراح شان ریحان
بتیغ احمد طغرل که چون زمانه زند   زبیم زرد شود خاك رستم دستان

1. India Office MS. No. 932, f. 36 a.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 28 b.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 117 a.

یمن علم عفیف و بروزگار سہیل ہوشیاری مقتان و دولت ارکان
بجار بالش حکم قضاے تاج الدین بخاک مسجد جامع بجنم شارستان
که هر چهار گنهکار بوده اند و هنوز اگر بکاوی استاده اند صد چندان
چو لاله باد اناے گلوے هریک سرخ بدان گناه که درغالیه زنند زبان
چو ملک را بقایت چو تیر شد بازار زبان ایشان از تیغ کلد شد دندان
نعوذ بالله امروز مثل صابر کیست ؟ که روزگار به اشعار او زند دستان
بجز رشید ندانم درین زمانه کسے که زاد فکرت او هست چشمهٔ حیوان
حسن که آینهٔ نور نفس ناطقه اوست ازو چگونه برم گوے نطق در میدان
فرزدق بنیانی که آیدیش بلا فزون زریگ بیابان و قطرهٔ باران
ولیک سوخته شد تر و خشک عود چوبید بہم طویلگی آن فلان و این بہان[1]

The following points in these verses are to be noted :—

(*a*) Verses 5-9 and 22-25 refer to Rūḥānī's contemporary poets Adīb-i-Ṣābir (died ?)[2] Rashīdu'd-Dīn Waṭwaṭ (573/1177), Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī (d. 556/1161) and Farazdaq of Banian[3] (?). From the said verses it is evident that they were living at the time when Rūḥānī wrote this "Saugand Nāma."

(*b*) The fourth and tenth verses show that those four poets had already written their "Saugand Nāmas." So, if we find out the date of Rūḥānī's "Saugand Nāma," which was written later than those four, we can easily fix the date of those personages, who are mentioned in it.

The poet Adīb-i-Ṣābir's "Saugand Nāma" begins thus:—

دلم بمہر اسیر ست و تن بعشق فدیٰ همی بگوش من آید زلفظ عشق ندیٰ

1. Mu'nisu'l-Aḥrār, pp. 210-215 and Majmu a-i-Qaṣā'id-i-Fārsi, pp. 153-156, (Ḥabībganj MSS.)

2. Dr. Ethe has given (India Office Catalogue, vol. II, p. 637) five dates of the death of Shihābu'd-Dīn Adīb-i-Ṣābir as 538, 540, 544, 546 or 547. For his correct dates and details see my essay in the "Ma'ārif" September, 1942.

3. The eighth verse is not clear. The native place mentioned with the name of Farazdaq is also not clear. In Mūnisu'l-Ahrār the word in that verse appears to be as "Multan," "but in the 25th verse of the above order both MSS. have "Banian" If it is so, then it was a place between Ghaznin, Karmān and the tract north or west of the Salt Range near the Sind (see Raverty's notes on pp. 541, 623, etc. in his Tr. of the Tabaqāt.) It may be read as Banian as well.

It was written in praise of :—

اجل رئیس خراسان و فخر موسویان   که اوست مالش فرعون ظلم را موسی
خجسته تاج معالی علی بن جعفر   که علم جعفر صادق همی کند املی[1]

Most of the panegyrics of Adīb-i-Ṣabir (as we find in his complete diwān at Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay) are in praise of this patron, who was a vizier[2] or counsellor of Sanjar, as we know from Jabalī :—

خداوندے که درتیرش نشاند نسرطائر پر
شهنشاهے که بر تا جش فشاند چرخ دائرفر
سلاطین را بحق وارث معز الدین ابوالحارث
شه آفاق را برهان امیر المومنین سنجر
سلاطین و خلائف را بدوفخراست همواره
چو سادات اکابر را بمجد دین پیغمبر
رئیس مشرق و مغرب ابوالقاسم علی صدرے
که چون هم کنیت و هم نام خویش آمد بفضل وفر
امیر سادهٔ عالم ، چراغ گوهر آدم
مشیر خسرو اعظم ، جمال دودهٔ جعفر
بزرگی کزبیان و طبع و دست مدحش افزاید
قلم حرمت ، کرم جاری ، سخاورنق ، سخن مفخر[3]

Waṭwaṭ's "Saugand Nāma" runs as follows :—

رہے بجود تو ایام مکرمت مشهور   خہے به جاه تو اعلام محمدت منصور
خدا یگانا گفتند حاسدان بغرض   که شد الوف دل من زخدمت تو نفور
بحق صانع هفت آسمان و هفت زمین   که نیست عقل درانکار صنع او معذور[4]
که تانیاید نزدیکم اضطرار فنا   زصدر تو نه شوم جز به اختیار تو دور

The name of the patron is not referred to therein, but it is most probably in praise of Atsiz Khwārazm Shāh (551/915 b).

1. Majmu'a-i-Qaṣāi'd-i-Fārsī 49/2, pp. 148, 149, Ḥabībganj MS.

2. For this vizier and some other unknown viziers of Sanjar see my essay in the "Ma'ārif," September-November, 1942.

3. Jabalī's dīwān, Juma Masjid Library, Bombay.

4. M. U. Aligarh MS.

The "Saugand Nāma" of the third poet, *i.e.*, of Sayyid Ḥasan opens with these lines:—

کشاد صورت دولت بشکر شاه دهان — چو بست زیور اقبال بر عروس جهان
خدایگان سلاطین مشرق و مغرب — علاء دینی و دین خسرو زمین و زمان
ابو المظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود — که هست نامش بر نامهٔ ظفر عنوان
کشاده دولت و دین چشم تا رود برتخت — نهاده جان و جهان گوش تا دهد فرمان
تبارك الله از ان ساعت خجسته چه بود — که باز گشت مظفر ز غز و هندوستان
جهان بکام و فلک بنده و ملک داعی — امید تازه و دولت قوی و بخت جوان
بدان خدای که هر ذره بر خداوندیش — همی نماید چون آفتاب صد برهان

OATHS

بعمر خود نه فراموش کردم و نه کنم — نه نیز در دلم آید که هرگز این بتوان
خدا یگانا گندم نخورده چون آدم — برون فتادم ناگه ز روضهٔ رضوان
من اولا کیم و آخر آن چه سهو بود — اگر کنم که بنجشایش تو ارزد آن
امید خلعت ثم اجتباه می دارم — که روز و شب شده ام ربنا ظلمنا خوان
خدای عز و جل داندای سلیمان فر — که همچو عنقازین شرم گشته ام پنهان
مرا عزیز تو کردی بجست و جوی یقین — کنون ذلیل مگر دان بگفت و گوی گمان[1]

This "Saugand Nāma" is important because Ruḥānī followed it in writing his own, both in metre and in rhyme, and it refers to the date (544/1149), when according to 'Awfī[2] this poet Hasan annoyed his patron Bahrām Shāh on having been found amongst the Ghorid prisoners, but was, later on, forgiven.

So, Rūḥānī, as his fourth and tenth verses show, wrote his "Saugand Nāma" even after that of Sayyid Ḥasan and during the vizierate of Najību'l-Mulk Ḥusain b. Ḥasan, *i.e.*, *much after* 544/1149.

(*c*) Some other officers of authority are also mentioned by Rūḥānī. His 16th verse shows that Aḥmad b. Tughril was a great fighter (or the commander-in-chief ?) in the army of Bahrām Shāh. From the 18th verse we know the name of the Qāḍī of Ghaznīn as Taju'd-Dīn. Other

1. British Museum MS Or. 4514, f. 125 a sqq. The fourth poet Farazdaq is absolutely unknown.

2. Lubābu'l-Albāb, vol. II, p. 287.

officers mentioned in the 15th and 17th verses are still in the dark, unless we get some better and clear record about them. The صاحب کافی is probably the same as one praised by Sayyid Ḥasan :—

اکفی الکفات مشرق و مغرب رئیس دین کامد فلک بزیر و محلش زبر نشست
وی چون ز شرط سوے حرم شد کریم وار کامے دو سه بر اسبک خادم مکر نشست

[1]From the above discussion it is now clear that Bahram Shah killed the old ancestral vizier 'Adu'l-Ḥamīd b. 'Abdus-Ṣamad, probably because he might have sided with his (former's) rival brother Malik Arslān. Then he appointed Aḥmad b. Ḥusain as his vizier. The poet Mas'ūd-i-Salmān praised him thus :

تا بر آمد ز آتش شمشیر بهرامی شرار داد گیتی را فلک بر ملک بهرامی قرار
در همه معنی چو احمد بود بهرامی مضا از پے صدر وزارت کرد او را اختیار[2]

This vizier seems to have not survived till 524/1130, when the poet Sanā'ī wrote his Ḥadīqa, wherein he calls Abū Muḥammad Hasan b. Abū Mansūr b. Sa'īd b Aḥmad b. Hasan Maimandī (pp. 87-88 supra) as *vizier* and Abū Naṣr Muḥammad (the son of the same old vizier 'Abdu'l-Hamīd b, Aḥmad b. 'Adu'ṣ-Ṣamad) as *deputy* to this vizier.[3] The latter too, in his turn became a vizier, as the following lines of a tarkīb-band by Sayyid Ḥasan refer to the fact :

امروز یکے خوش سختے نزد من آمد کز آمدنش جان دگر در بدن آمد
ای دهر تو دانی که چنو صدر نه دارم وی چرخ تو دانی که چنو بدر نه دارم
قطب ملک الدوله ابو نصر محمد آن بخت برو بود موافق چو دو فرقد[4]

But he seems to have lived not later than 541/1147, because the poet Sayyid Ḥasan who, according to Baihaqī's Lubābul-Ansāb[5], left Ghaznīn for Ḥajj in 544/1149, praised

1. India Office MS. No. 931, f. 141a.
2. His dīwān, p. 289.
3. Ḥadīqa (Lucknow ed.), pp. 738, 743. This Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd is most probably the father of Naṣru'llāh, the translator of Kalīla-wa-Dimna. The latter was praised by Sayyid Ḥasan (p. 76 supra), whose following verse (of the 'pridal panegyric') is quoted by Naṣru'llāh in his translation of Kalīla (Tehran ed. by Nizām, p. 112) in 538/1143 ·

خون در تنم چو نافه ز اندیشه خشک شد
جرمم همین که هم نفس مشک اذ فرم

4. India Office MS. 931, f. 59a.
5. Taqi Mudarris refers to it in his preface to the dīwān of Sayyid Ḥasan (Tehran ed., 1328, p. 30).

his (Abū Naṣr Muḥammad's) successor Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ḥusain for about two years (4th verse infra) :

کارے به گزاف می گذارم — عمرے به امید می سپارم
صاحب حسن آن که شاه دولت — جز بر در او نه داده بارم
شکر ایزد را که مملکت را — من از دو وزیر یادگارم
خلعت دادیم بار الحق — امسال در آرزوے بارم[1]

In another panegyric, in praise of Abū Ḥasan (p. 92 supra) the same poet refers to his rival (previous vizier), whose tenure of office had been for one year (verse 3, infra) :

طلوع خسرو سیارگان ز برج حمل — خجسته بادا بر خواجهٔ عمید اجل
ابو علی حسن احمد آن که در شانش — شده است آیت مردی و مردمی منزل
عجب مدار که یک ساله جاه دشمن تو — بود به نسبت یک روزه قدر تو مختل
اگر غرورے باقی ست خصم را گو باش — یکے دو کے شود از بهر دیدهٔ احول
نهال روضهٔ جاه تو ام شگفته به شکر — به وقت میوه چرا می گذاریم مهمل[2]

The first and the last verses refer to the season of spring when Abū 'Alī Hasan had been a vizier and he held his office till at least 544/1149, when the poet Sayyid Ḥasan, as we have seen above, praised Bahrām Shāh as well as this vizier on the recovery of the throne of Ghaznīn. After Hasan, his son Najību'l-Mulk Ḥusain, flourished as vizier apparently till the end of Bahrām Shāh's reign in 552/1157.

The forty-two years' rule of Bahrām Shāh witnessed many vicissitudes of time, but he had a fire in his personality and could mould things as he desired. His archmanship, undaunted chivalry and fearless gallantry had won him the throne of Ghaznīn and it is his philanthropic behaviour and patronising attitude towards literati that has chronicled his name on the darkest pages of the Ghaznavid history.

— الحمد لله —

1. India Office MS. 931, f. 90 a–b.
2. British Museum MS., Or. 5414, f. 121f.